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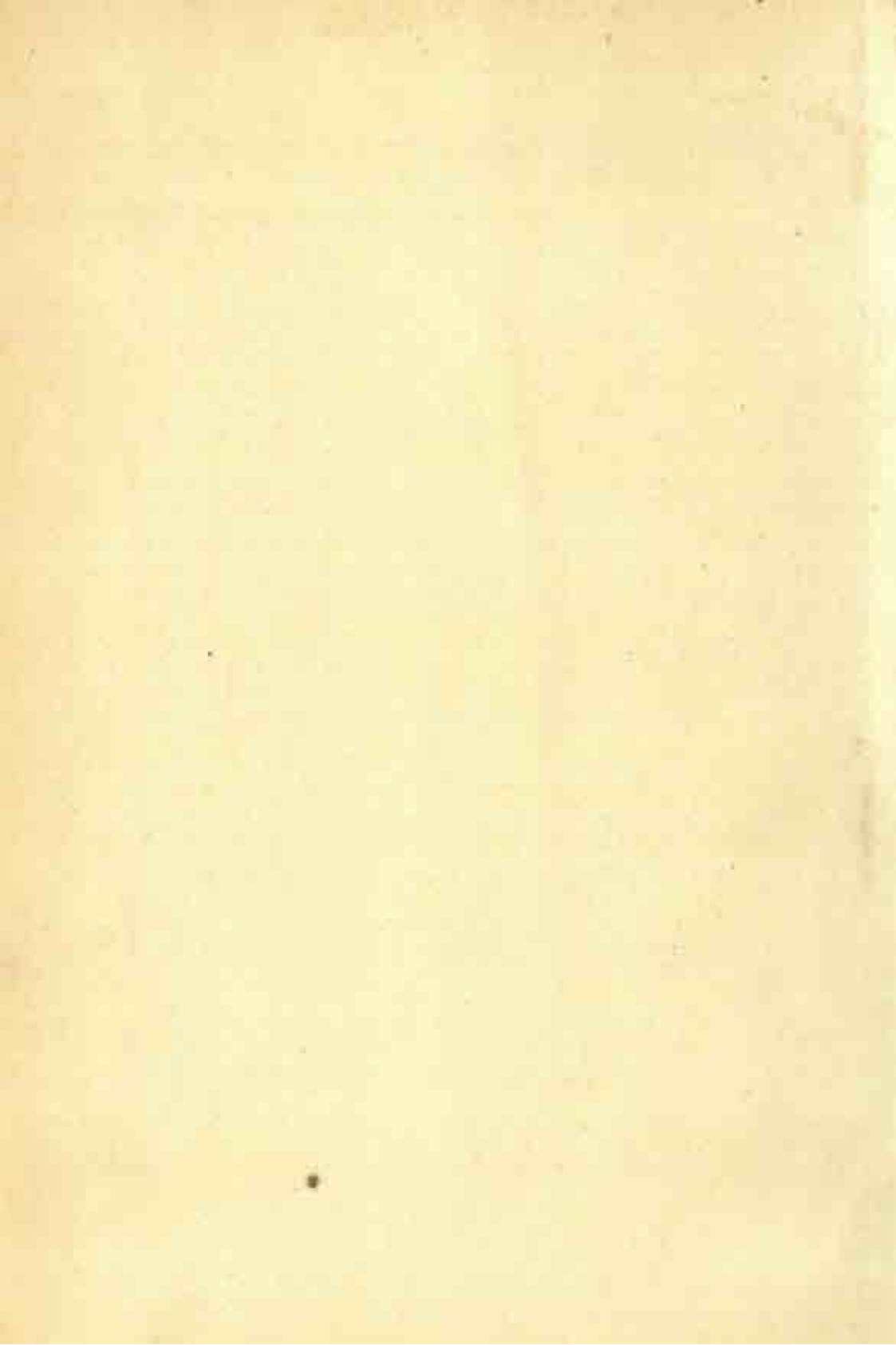
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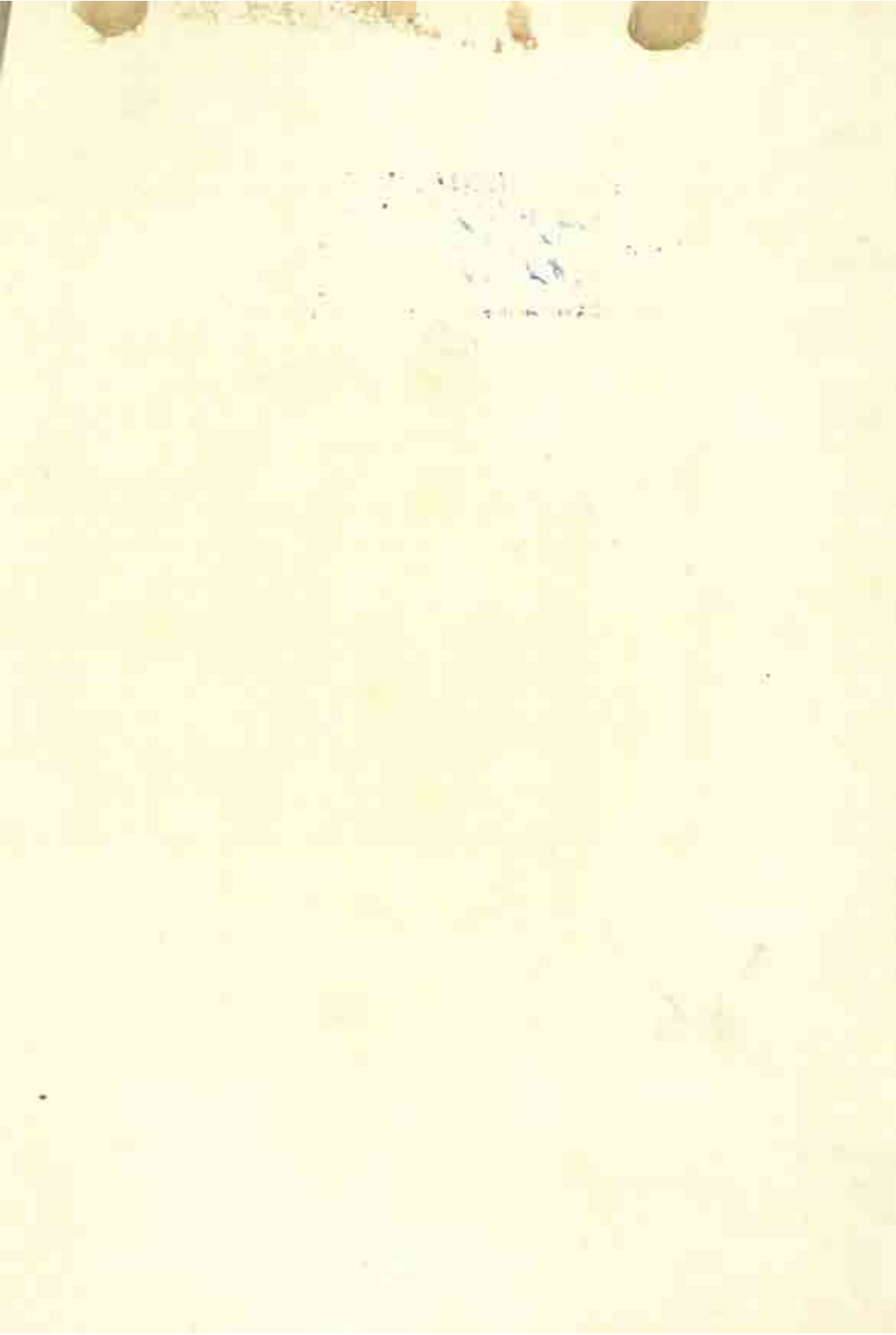
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Meditation.
(National Museum, Bangkok).

THE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

by

H. H. PRINCE BIDYALAKṢARĀṆA.⁽¹⁾

According to popular belief based on old literature, there are five genuine Footprints of the Buddha; the rest are imitations. The names of the five places where the Footprints are to be found are given as follows in the Pāli language:—

Suvaṇṇamālīke Suvaṇṇapabbate Sumanakūṭe Yonakapure

Nannadāya nadiyā pañcapāḍavaram vandāmi dūrato.

The three Footprints, at Suvaṇṇamālīka—I do not know where it is; Yonakapura, Greek city, probably in the Panjab or Afghanistan; and Nannadā a river, which flows through central India down to the coast of Madras, are outside the scope of this paper. Of the five names, only two concern us here; Suvaṇṇapabbata has been identified as a hill in Siam, and Sumanakūṭa is known in present-day geography as Adam's Peak in Ceylon.

In my present paper I propose to speak, first, of the Footprint to the north-east of Ayudhya, on a hill in the district of Saraburi, known as Suvaṇṇapabbata. It is not my purpose to describe the Footprint, with its Temple and outbuildings and grounds as they stand to-day. Rather will I speak of its history, how and when it was discovered, or possibly re-discovered. It will be of interest to realize the extent of the veneration in which the Footprint has been held by the people of the country, from king to peasant. In no small measure it is so held still. It will, again, be interesting to note how the Temple grounds have been the scene, on countless occasions, of displays of skill in sports and games, the drama, pyrotechnics and so

⁽¹⁾ A paper read at a general meeting of the Siam Society held on the 20th of December, 1934.

forth; how the Footprint has provided occasions for the calling together (I won't say mobilization) of at any rate some of the King's forces, and how it has afforded opportunities for the Sovereign to be with his people outside the capital, thus contributing, if only indirectly, to the efficient administration of the State.

In the second part of my paper, I propose to touch briefly on the symbolism of the Footprint, and, with your permission, advance my own view on it. Any new theory on such an old subject is necessarily a bold one, and I hope that I may count on your indulgence.

I will now begin at the beginning and go back to one of the oldest known pieces of literature in which the subject has been found. I refer to the *ພາສາພະໂສມຊຸດ*, that is to say, the Commentaries of the Buddhist Scriptures.

The *ພະໂສມຊຸດ*, or Buddhist Scriptures, are described as *ສຸກກິຈານ*, or words attributed to the Master. The Books are usually spoken of in English as the Sacred Texts, as distinguished from the Commentaries.

In the Sacred Texts there is a chapter entitled *ປຸ່ນໂດນມາສຸດ*, that is, "Chapter on the teaching imparted by the Buddha to a disciple named ປຸ່ນ, Pim."⁽¹⁾ I may explain, perhaps unnecessarily, that a *sutta* or *ສຸ* may be didactic, and consists mainly or wholly of a discourse given by the Master; or it may be historical, and relates to an event or chain of events. The *sutta* to which I refer is a didactic one in the Sacred Texts, but in the Commentary it becomes mainly a story, with many miracles.

I will give you a gist of the story in the Commentaries, but before doing so I would remark, first, that the Commentaries were written in Ceylon many centuries after the demise of the Buddha; and the last parts, in which our story appears, were written about nine hundred years after the Master's death. I would remark, secondly, that the Footprint is barely mentioned in the Sacred Texts themselves. I have asked a Pāli scholar, on whom I rely, to look through the Sacred Texts and give me a note on the description or characteristics of the Buddha's Footprint. He reports having found it mentioned in three places in the Sacred Texts, and they agree in describing the Buddha's

⁽¹⁾ In *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Uparipavāsa*, v, *Saḍḍatana vaggā*; v. Lord Chalmers; *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 307.

Footprint as containing *cakra* or wheels, with spokes and other embellishments. A Wheel may be understood to be a line which forms a circle, just as in palmistry there are lines which form triangles, and so on. I do not know if it is rare to find circles on the soles of one's feet—I have not looked for them on mine, not being much of a contortionist—but a friend tells me that he has two circles on his feet. He does not claim to be a Buddha on that account, and has therefore not gone to a mental home. As regards the embellishments mentioned in the Sacred Texts, the Commentaries expand them into tens of pictures—one book gives the number as 108. The pictures are said to be a tree, a head-dress, a lotus, a white water-lily, a blue water-lily, a red water-lily, a spear, a begging-bowl and so forth. You will find that the bronze Footprint in the National Museum is covered with pictures; so is the *cover* of the Footprint at Phra Bād. Now, it is impossible to believe that the commentators intended it to be understood that there were real pictures on the Footprints; and I am inclined to think that, as in palmistry the lines or swellings on the palm of the hand are called by different names, so the lines or other features on the sole of the foot had names given them. We still have palmistry for reading the hand. Had they, a few thousand years ago, a similar system for reading the foot? If they had, then surely a "red lily" is not a picture of a lily coloured red, but a line or swelling somewhere on the sole of a foot, just as in palmistry the "mount of the moon" does not mean a picture of a mountain or of the moon. I cannot quote literature to support my theory, but I imagine that the old commentators provided so many pictures on the Buddha's Footprint to keep out claimants to Buddhahood. I may say that I have never seen the actual Footprint in the rock at Phra Bād, for it has a cover which, as I have said, is full of pictures. I am told that the indentation in the rock is bare, and I have not had sufficient curiosity to ask for the cover to be removed for inspection.

Now the gist of the story from the Commentaries. There lived in the district of Sunāparanta two brothers, *पुन*, the Elder Pun, and *ययन*, the Younger Pun. They took turns to travel with 500 carts to trade in distant lands, and on one occasion the elder Pun arrived at Sāvattihī while the Buddha was staying outside the city. On the morning after his arrival, the merchant saw a large number

of citizens passing through a city gate, and on enquiry was told that the Buddha was present in the neighbourhood preaching to the people. The elder Pun joined the crowd and was soon engrossed in the words of the Master; so much so that there and then he resolved to renounce his earthly position to enter the monkhood. This he did after handing his entire wealth to his younger brother. Thereafter he attended upon the Buddha for instruction, and finally, with the Master's approval, repaired to a distant hermitage which had been prepared for him by his brother.

During the following rainy season, the younger Pun, with 500 ships, went on a sea-voyage and arrived at an island where the merchants found an abundance of sandal trees. Said the merchants among themselves: "This island contains nothing but sandal-wood, which, however, is more valuable than our merchandise. Let us cast away our goods and replace them with this wood." The trees were accordingly cut down, and the ships soon sailed away with sandal-wood instead of their original cargoes.

Now, the island was inhabited by evil spirits who disliked to have their trees cut down ruthlessly, and they resolved to destroy the merchants wholesale. To avoid having human carcasses putrifying on their island, they planned to have the ships capsized in the open sea. Thus a sudden gale struck the boats, and the spirits showed themselves in awful forms to demoralise the crews. The younger Pun, in mental prayer, invoked his pious brother's aid. The elder Pun appeared floating in the air, whereupon the evil spirits scattered in fear. The ships returned home safely, and each merchant, in gratitude, offered the pious man some of his sandal-wood. They were told that if they desired to behold the Buddha in person, they must build a pavilion with the sandal wood they had offered. They did so, and the elder Pun, by his supernatural power, journeyed through the air to the Buddha's abode, and invited him to visit the merchants and preach to them. The Buddha accepted the invitation, and, accompanied by several hundred members of the Brotherhood, travelled through the air by means of conveyances provided by the god Indra. On the way the Buddha broke his journey to visit a heathen hermit named *सच्चन्दि*, Saccabandha, to whom he preached. The hermit was converted, and joined the travellers in the rest of their journey by air. After spending several days with the builders of the sandal wood pavilion, the Buddha returned to Sāvattī, but when passing the old

hermit's hill, he stopped there again. The new convert was persuaded to remain in his old hermitage in order to rectify the wrong views which he had preached to the people of the neighbourhood. The convert understood his duty and consented to stay, but he asked the Buddha to leave his Footprint as a memento of his visit to the country. The Master did so. Hence, I may add, the Footprint to the north-east of Ayudhya. On the same journey, the Buddha also visited the king of snakes on the bank of the Narmadâ River, and left another Footprint there by request. The Narmadâ River is in Central India.

I have given at considerable length the story from the Commentaries on which belief in the genuineness of the Footprint is based. I am now ready to turn to Siamese history, and it is Ceylon again to whom we are indebted for knowledge of the existence of the Footprint in Siam. But in the course of my paper, I shall have occasion to refer to the Buddha's Footprints in other countries, notably the one on Adam's Peak in Ceylon and that at Bodh Gaya in India, and it will be convenient to confer on ours a distinctive appellation. I propose to call our Footprint by the name of the hill on which it stands, i. e. *สุวณฺณปabbata*, *Suvannapabbata* (Golden Hill), and hereafter, where it is necessary to distinguish it from other Footprints, I will refer to it as the Golden Hill Footprint.

During the reign of the Siamese King Song Dharm of Ayudhya (early 17th century A. D.), a number of Siamese monks went on a pilgrimage to the Adam's Peak Footprint, in Ceylon. The Ceylonese monks asked them: "Why do you come here when, according to the sacred books, you have a Buddha's Footprint on Golden Hill in your country." The Siamese monks, on their return from Ceylon, reported the conversation to King Song Dharm, who ordered a search to be made. The Governor of Saraburi reported that a hunter named *พูน*, *Pun* (a namesake of the pious man in the Commentaries) knew of a footprint on a rock. The hunter had noticed that an animal which he had shot and wounded went up a hill and disappeared in a thick growth of vegetation, and presently emerged apparently without hurt. The hunter was surprised, and on investigation discovered an indentation in a rock full of clear water. He drank it, and the disease on his skin disappeared. The hunter next emptied the water for a closer examination of the indentation, and found it to be the mark of a human foot. The King was enthusiastic over

the report, and set out in state from Ayudhya. His Majesty travelled the first stage of his journey by river, and landed at a place which has since become known as วัด Ta-rua, i. e. Boat-landing. From there the journey was continued by land, the hunter, ฆราวาส, acting as guide. The King's delight on beholding the Footprint is recorded in history. Many were the candles and incense sticks which he lighted before it, and he raised his folded hands to his head again and again. He dedicated the surrounding land, to the extent of ten miles in radius, to the Footprint, and ordered a Temple and Monastery to be built on a grand scale. By his command, a road 20 metres wide was made between Boat-landing and Golden Hill. On the river itself, a royal house was constructed, the spot on which it stood being styled ราชานุสาวรีย์, Ta-chao-snuk, i. e. "Landing where Royalty derives Enjoyments". The construction of the Temple and other buildings took four years, and after its completion the King went to the Footprint again; the festivities in connection with this visit were on the grandest scale.

There is no record in Siamese history of any more visits by King Song Dharm, but it is impossible to believe that he never went again during the remaining seventeen years of his life. In all probability he visited it once a year. King Song Dharm's eldest son, who reigned only for a year and seven months, was probably too unhappy in his career on the Throne to pay a visit to the Footprint before his assassination, and Song Dharm's youngest son, who followed his brother to the throne, was only nine years old. Within a few weeks the boy-king was deposed by the powerful and ambitious nobleman who had placed both him and his brother on the throne only to pull them down again. The nobleman usurped the throne and founded his own dynasty, of which the founder and King Narai were the two notable monarchs. From the time of this usurper, every King of Ayudhya visited the Footprint, and for some of the Sovereigns the visit was a fixed annual event. Improvements and repairs were made to the Temple and grounds from time to time, and the place became a royal pleasure-ground as well as a shrine. After the fall of Ayudhya, the first Sovereign of the present Dynasty ordered the restoration of the Temple. The King, รัชกาลที่ ๑, appointed a commission to inquire into the history of the Footprint and the administration of the Footprint district. There is on record a statement made before that

commission by a Footprint official who served during the time of the Ayudhya Kings. Apart from its other details, the statement is interesting in that it affords an insight into the system of government under the Kings of the old Dynasties. It appears that from the time of King Song Dharm, the chief official of the Footprint was appointed from the capital. That would be so, naturally, since, apart from the importance of the Footprint as a Shrine, the surrounding country, with the palaces, caves and streams etc., was the King's pleasure ground, and the chief official of the place must be a man with knowledge of the ways of the Court. Legal disputes within the district came before him, and he had written instructions to guide him as to the steps to take. The names of the judges to whom the cases should be handed over for trial were given. Thus two officials, Khun so-and-so, were to try civil cases, a third official had to take criminal cases, others to take cases affecting the rice-fields, and so on. You will remember that land within a ten mile radius was declared Footprint territory, and so jurisdiction within it came partially under its officials. I say partially, and not solely, because where a fine was to be imposed, it had to be imposed at Lopburi or Saraburi, the judgment of the Footprint Administration court being forwarded to one or the other of the two towns.

More than one hundred years after the death of King Song Dharm, the system of jurisdiction was modified by King *ဗညုလောက* who remarked that a chief official appointed from the capital usually died within a year or two, and it would be wiser to appoint local men. Local men were henceforth appointed, and the King decreed that the local officials need not go to the capital twice a year to attend the ceremony of drinking the "water of fidelity", as the officials appointed from the capital had to do. Instead, the local officials were to pay homage to the Vassā Candle (*သီပေါတိုင်*) which the King sent every year to be kept alight in the Temple throughout the rainy season. As to jurisdiction, the local officials from then on were competent to try and pass judgment on small disputes only. Other cases had to be sent for trial elsewhere, and serious criminal cases had to go to Ayudhya.

Let us now turn to the visits of the Kings of Ayudhya and see what took place. There is a book compiled during the reign of King Tak of Dhonburi, between the fall of Ayudhya and the establishment of the present Dynasty in Bangkok, which puts on record the

arrangements made for a visit to the Footprint by one of the last Kings of Ayudhya.

After an approximate date for a royal visit had been fixed, it was the duty of the Kralahome (which is the name of the Ministry of War) to send men from several specified Departments (Krom) to build rest-houses on the river-route for the King and members of his household, (a large number of people, you will understand), as well as for the princes and their families accompanying the Sovereign. The river journey occupied one day, with a mid-way rest at *Udon* about half way. The names of officials whose duty it was to prepare royal and other barges are given in a long list, which also contains the names of the officials required to provide men to man the boats, and to give them guns and ammunitions. On one visit of King *Udon* there were about thirty of what might be termed "barges-of-the-line", each barge being mentioned by its own name, as we would refer to a gunboat to-day. The princes who accompanied the King had their own barges which do not appear in the list. Each prince and nobleman also had barges or other boats to carry his family, servants, luggage, kitchen, and so forth, and these, added to the official transport boats, must have made the flotilla a very large one. The scene, in fact, was that of an army moving by water. Naturally, the people of the surrounding country turned out on the river to see the King and his procession, to enjoy the fun provided during the royal visit, and incidentally to *tan boon*, gain merit themselves, so that the river must have presented a busy scene all the way.

The King started from the capital in the morning (I am speaking from the record of one visit), and arrived at the half-way rest-house about midday. His Majesty landed to take his meal, and rested for a few hours before continuing his journey. On arrival at Boat-landing, a stay at least, of two days was made. Here again the army order came into operation. Officials and people of the locality were required to attend and place themselves under the order of officials from Ayudhya. A number of barges had to be moored in front of the royal houses to act as guard on the river. Other barges were carried ashore so that they formed barriers against any possible outside attack, the bargemen occupying positions behind their boats. The order goes into detail as to other forms of defence: for instance, caltrops or spikes were laid on the ground to a breadth of 5 soks, (2½ metres), leaving 10 gaps to be guarded by companies of men,

each company to have 14 guns, 5 bows and 5 cross-bows. In addition each company had a gong and 50 men to patrol the beat. There were two cannon at each gate-way, manned by men from specified Kroms. The inner line of defence against surprise was held by men whose Kroms were mentioned. Sixty-two war elephants with guns formed an important part of the armed camp, and so did the cavalry. The order of the guarding of this camp on the river bank runs to five octavo pages.

After two days the land journey began. The army was now increased by men, beasts, guns, carts, etc., which had collected before the King's arrival, and the whole moved forward on the way to Golden Hill. The order runs to ten pages. Each Krom was given its place in the procession, the chief officers being mentioned by name. The official elephants now numbered 144, but the horses were only 60. The number of carriages is not given in the list, but there must have been many, for the ladies and children travelled in them, and at least one prince, who probably was old. The bullock-carts were innumerable, for of course they provided transport for almost everything which was required. The carts, with beasts complete, were requisitioned from the surrounding country as far as Jainad, and a household which failed to provide a cart had to pay a tical and a half. Later a King ordered that the territory liable to requisition was to be extended, but payment in lieu of cart was lessened. A man's household was now required to pay only a quarter of a tical, and a widow's household half that amount. The contribution was, I think, an annual one, for it is definitely stated that the money was to go into the Treasury, earmarked for the hire of carts for the King's visit to the Footprint each year.

The journey from the landing to Golden Hill is 550 *sens* (nearly 14 miles). Arriving in the afternoon, the King stopped his elephant in front of the Temple and swung his weapon in salute, an elaborate movement which was repeated three times. This is called *พระมหากษัตริย์*. I have never seen it done, and I believe the last Sovereign to salute the Footprint in the traditional manner was King Chulalongkorn.

From the record of a visit of a King of Ayudhya which I am quoting, the Sovereign, after the salute, went on to his rest-house on a stream, พระตำหนักชลบท, about a mile and a quarter from the Temple. The next day he visited the Temple, accompanied by his family

and personal retinue. Inside the Temple he lighted candles and incense-sticks, covered part of the Footprint with gold leaves, and made presents to it, particularly a pair of trees, one of gold, and one of silver. He next came out of the Temple and sat on a stone seat under the Bo tree on the edge of a cliff. He scattered gold and silver flowers among his followers, after which the entertainments began. These consisted of boxing, fencing, duels with long-handled swords (wooden blades) etc. Dramatic performances were given, and, in the evening, fireworks. The monks were liberally treated with food and given presents. The festivities, combined with excursions to the caves, mountain streams, forests, and so on, went on day after day, and the week was an enjoyable one. The Court returned to Ayudhya by the same route, and, in the ordinary course of things, the visit was repeated next year after the harvesting of the crop.

You will have gathered that the Footprint was a rich institution and possessed great treasures. I will mention one item of such treasures. In B. E. 2290 (1747 A. D.), the Governor of Kuiburi reported that gold in the form of sand had been discovered at Bang Sapan, and forwarded a sample weighing 12 ticals. The King ordered a commissioner at the head of two thousand men to go to Bang Sapan to wash for the metal, and they returned with gold weighing over 90 catties, all of which the King ordered to be used for the decoration of the Footprint Temple. The spire of the main roof was covered with this gold, reaching quite a long way down. The treasures of the Temple invited plunder, and during the last siege of Ayudhya, it was plundered. Robbery of Footprint property probably took place repeatedly during those troublous times, but it was left to the Chinese of a village called Betel Garden to commit the final act of arson following robbery, and the Temple was entirely burnt down.

After the fall of Ayudhya and the foundation of the capital at Dhonburi, King Tak caused a temporary structure to be put up on the site of the burnt Temple. That King was fully occupied in putting down internal risings and consolidating his power, and in keeping out would-be invaders from Burma and elsewhere; and he could not find time for less urgent matters, and the building of a new Temple of the Footprint was left to the first Sovereign of the present Dynasty. King พระพุทธยอดฟ้าฯ ordered that the Temple be rebuilt, and desired his brother, the Wang Na, the Second King, to supervise the construction. The latter went to Golden Hill with his army,

among whom were artists, craftsmen and other workers. He was a pious man, with very deep veneration for the Footprint, and instead of travelling from the landing on an elephant or any other conveyance, he walked the whole way. On his own shoulder was carried a piece of timber to be used in the construction of the Temple. It is on record that at each resting-place on the way, a stand had been prepared for His Majesty to place the timber while he himself rested, so that it never touched earth. The Temple built during the first reign has since been repaired and altered many times, and I do not think we are very proud of the building to-day.

I have now finished the historical part of my paper, and will next give you my view on the difficult question of the symbolism of the Footprint. Unfortunately, I have mislaid some of my papers since the abolition of the Royal Institute, and from this point, I am writing without notes, depending almost entirely on memory. I am therefore obliged to avoid going into details, and state my view in a bald and perhaps unsatisfactory manner.

Now, the students of Buddhism among you know that the Buddha was born a prince, and in the ordinary course of things, would succeed his father on the throne. But he abandoned his princely status to adopt the simple life, spending his time in meditation. Finally Enlightenment came. He was Buddha from this time on, for he was merely a Bodhisattva (potential Buddha) before his Enlightenment. Now, Enlightenment was the first important event, not in the life of the man, but from the point of view of his Religion. Buddhism began not with the birth of the prince, but with his Enlightenment. Here I may say in parentheses that I am using the word Religion in a broad sense. Scholars have written how much of Buddhism is Religion, and how much of it Philosophy. I do not propose to touch on the distinction here.

After his Enlightenment, the Buddha hesitated about teaching it to others, realizing that his Doctrine was difficult of comprehension by an untrained mind, and it would be futile to teach it without painstaking preparation. Finally he decided to impart his new-found knowledge to the five disciples who had lately left him, and he journeyed to Benares, where they had gone. In the neighbourhood of that city, he preached his First Sermon. That was the second important event, because, if he did not teach after attaining Enlightenment, he would be merely a *disambhava*, that is to say, a Buddha

who, having attained Enlightenment, would not impart knowledge to mankind.

The First Sermon was followed by others, and the Master spent the rest of his long life moving from place to place for the instruction of the people in the ways of peace. His wanderings to spread his teaching are called *พิกุล*, which may here be translated as Peregrination. That was the third important step, for without it the Religion would not have been established.

We have, then, the three important steps in the history of the Religion: the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Peregrination. These were symbolized as follows:

Enlightenment: a Seat, *มณเฑียร* (and Bo Tree);

First Sermon : a Wheel, *มณีวง*;

Peregrination : a Footprint, *มณเฑียร*.

As regards the Seat, it is often understood in this country to symbolize the Buddha's Death, the seat or Bench being his death-bed. Thus, at *มณเฑียรคิลานาสน*, there is a pulverizing stone (for medicine), and a hole which is pointed out to visitors as a spittoon. But it is wrong to regard the Seat, *มณเฑียร*, as referring to the Buddha's Death; for Death is already symbolized by the *Thūpa* or funeral mound, *i.e.* *มณเฑียร*. The oldest stone pictures of the Seat, for instance at Bharhut, show with it the Bo tree under which Enlightenment was attained, and to me the tree clearly indicates the meaning of the Seat.

Regarding the symbol of the First Sermon, the Wheel *มณีวง*, no explanation is needed. A very fine specimen of the Wheel is to be seen in the National Museum in Bangkok. I will show you a picture on the screen presently.

With regard to the Footprint, it is surely the most obvious symbol of Peregrination. As a real footprint records the presence on the spot of the owner of the foot, so a representation of the Buddha's Footprint would be evidence either of the Master's actual visit to a place, such as Bodhi Gaya, or, later on, of the fact that his teaching had reached it. Its presence in Siam is a mark of the spread of Buddhism to this country, and not a record of the Buddha's actual visit here. That must be the true significance of the Footprint, whether it be a natural indentation in a rock which has or has not been touched up by hand, or a man-made representation in wood, mortar, stone or metal.



The Wheel, Dhammacakka.
(National Museum, Bangkok).



The Walking Buddha.
(National Museum, Bangkok).

On the antiquity of the Footprint symbol in Buddhism, I need only say that the early Buddhists, say before the first century before Christ, would never make an image of the Master. That for them would be a sacrilege, and when they wished to indicate the Master's presence, they merely suggested it by a symbol, such as an empty Seat or a Footprint. The Buddhists of the Kushan period, (say the second century of the Christian era), had not such scruples, and from that time on, the Master's image became a principal element in Buddhist sculpture.

Let me show you on the screen a few pictures of the sculptured reliefs of the Bharhut Thupa, which was erected about the middle of the second century B. C.

Picture I. This picture represents the procession of a King visiting the Buddha. You see the King in a chariot, and he has with him the four sections of his army: elephants, horse, chariot and foot. The Buddha is represented in the picture by a Wheel.

Picture II. This picture depicts the Buddha being worshipped in Paradise. He is represented by his head-dress.

Picture III. See the Seat and the Tree, which need no explanation.

These stone-pictures, as I have said, were made in the second century A. D. Images of the Buddha were not made till over five hundred years after his death. It would seem that once the Buddhists had discarded their scruple about making images of the Master, there was no further reason to represent him by symbols. The images have been made in many forms and we have them in the attitude of Meditation (picture IV), preaching the First Sermon (picture V), and Peregrination (picture VI). The Buddha in this last picture is called *Phra Prachin* in Siamese, that is, the Walking Buddha. There are images of the Buddha in many other attitudes, such as the attitude of Blessing, the attitude of Forgiveness (picture VII), all of which may be seen in the Museum.

As regards the Footprints of one or the other of the two Hindu Chief-Gods in India, these are a later conception than that of Buddhism. As a matter of fact, the Buddha's Footprint at Bodh Gaya was adopted by Hinduism and became Viṣṇu-pāda (Foot of Vishnu) after the later ascendancy of that religion over Buddhism in India. There is nothing inconsistent in this adoption if we take into consideration the fact that the Buddha himself has been adopted by Hinduism, wherein he becomes one of Vishnu's incarnations. There is

a Āvapaṇḍa (Foot of Shiva) somewhere which is said to date from the 4th century of the Christian era. It is probably another adoption, for the idea of the Buddha's Footprint was conceived long before Christ.

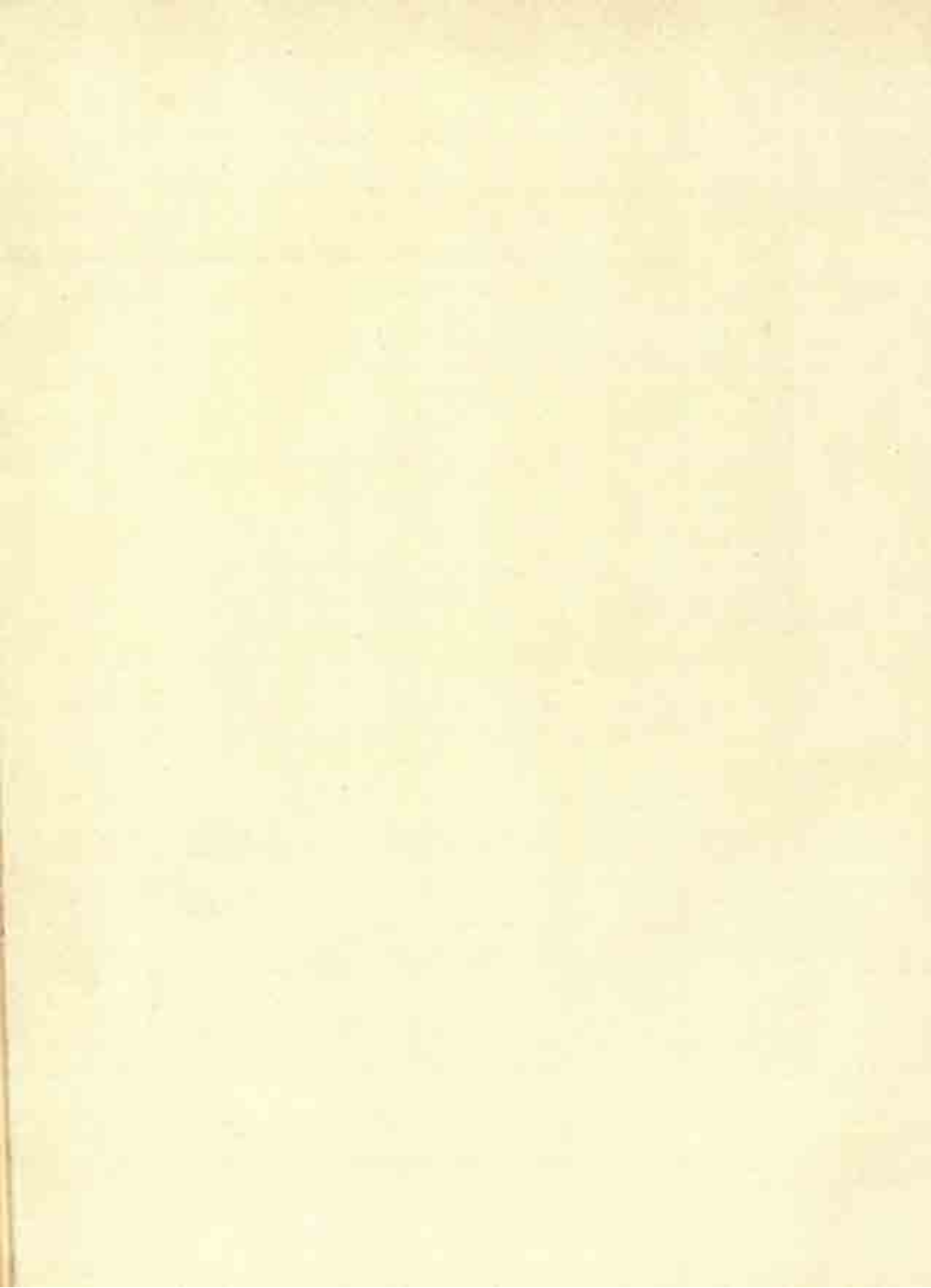
May I conclude my paper with the remark that by rationalising the Buddha's Footprint, instead of mythologising it, we surely must recognise its symbolical character, and identify it with his movement from place to place. The Master, after Enlightenment (symbolised by the Seat and Tree), preached his First Sermon (symbolised by the Wheel), and then travelled from place to place, from country to country, for the instruction of mankind until the Religion was firmly established. The Peregrination, *ṬṬṬṬṬṬ*, is symbolised by the Footprint.

There is another point which I would like to mention, rather as an afterthought. According to the Sacred Texts, there are four shrines to which Buddhists are enjoined to make pilgrimage. They are the scenes of the Master's Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon, and Death. There is a set of four emblems symbolising those four events. *Birth* is represented by an elephant, because, according to legend, the Buddha's Mother dreamed that a white elephant from heaven entered her womb. *Enlightenment* is symbolised by a Tree (and Seat); the *First Sermon* by a Wheel, and *Death* by a Thūpa (Tōpe) which typifies the perfect stillness of transcendent peace into which he passed away at death.

You will recognise that the four emblems form a set distinct from the set of three (the Seat, the Wheel, and the Footprint); for, whereas the first set represent the most important events in the Master's *Life*, the second represent the most important events of his *Religion*. The Man's Life ended at Death. His Religion goes on. The two sets of emblems are not to be confounded with one another, though two of the emblems are common to both sets.



The Buddha in the attitude of Blessing.
(in the author's collection).



ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH WORK IN SIAM

by

MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

The study of anthropology as well as ethnology in Siam offers great possibilities by reason of the numerous and varied racial groups which constitute the population of this country.

While the ethnological problems pertaining to Siam have already been treated by not a few students, such as the late Colonel Gerini, Messrs. W. A. Graham, Evans, Dr. A. Kerr, Professor Schebesta, and myself, about which more anon, those of anthropology have, so far, been paid but scant attention.

About thirty years ago the late Dr. Brengues, a young French physician, carried out a series of interesting anthropometric measurements of individuals belonging to the so-called Chong people, a branch of the Môn-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic race, living in the extreme south-east of the kingdom of Siam. Most unfortunately this promising beginning was cut short much too soon by the untimely death of Dr. Brengues. Later on Dr. Congdon of the Rockefeller Institute, while teaching anatomy at the Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, succeeded, during the years of 1928-31, I believe, in carrying out anthropometric measurements of no less than 30,000 Thai (i.e. Siamese) conscripts. The results of this stupendous piece of investigation have not yet been published, but the doctor has promised to contribute an abridged report on this matter to the *Journal of the Siam Society*.

Quite recently, during the winter months of 1932, I myself, in company with my friend, Mr. E. W. Hutchinson, visited a group of the Lawā, the remnants of a Môn-Khmer people, which no doubt formed the bulk of the population of North Siam prior to the Thai conquest of that country during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A. D. We obtained measurements of about sixty individuals, besides other ethnological as well as linguistic information. Our joint report on this work will shortly⁽¹⁾ be published in the Journal of the Siam Society. This constitutes up till now all that has been done in the way of anthropological research work in Siam and is thus only a very modest beginning.

We now come to the ethnological problems.

The population of Siam may be divided into three distinct racial groups—i. e. (1) the Negroids, represented by the Sémang pygmies, living in the extreme south of Siam in the jungles of the Malay Peninsula, so ably described by Messrs. Skeat, Blagden, Evans, and Schebesta; (2) the Austro-Asiatics represented by the various Môn-Khmer peoples, to which both of the aforesaid Chong and Lawā belong; and finally (3) the Mongoloids, represented by the Thai with their many subdivisions; the immigrant Chinese and some hill tribes in Northern and Western Siam, which are partly of Chinese and partly of Tibetan stock. The Karen people, though undoubtedly of Mongoloid race, have not yet been finally classified whether belonging to the Chinese or Tibetan stock. They probably belong to the latter.

As the above three main groups are split up into more than thirty different peoples and tribes, subdivided again in numerous clans and septs, speaking a great number of languages and dialects, a detailed study of their anthropological and ethnological characteristics would most probably result in the discovery of a number of new and important facts which, besides adding to the total sum of our knowledge of these departments of science, might perhaps even alter our whole view on the origin and distribution of the human race. I beg in this connection to refer to Professor Paul Rivet's recent paper, *Les Océaniens*, (Journal Asiatique, tome CCXXII, No. 2, avril-juin 1933, pp. 235-256), from which it seems clear that those mutations of the Primates that resulted in the creation of the various human species took place just in that part of the vast Asiatic continent which is represented by Hither and Further India. That the days of exploration and discovery of extinct or hitherto unknown living species of the human race, as far as regards Further India at least, are not

(1) As a matter of fact this report *was* published in the JSS, vol. XXVII, pp. 153-182.

yet over, has been amply proved by the recent finds of the petrified skeletons or skeletal parts made by Mansuy in Upper Tonking, as well as by the discovery of a tribe of stark-naked hunting nomads, the so-called Khā Tong Lu'ang, met with for the first time by a European forest official in the jungles of North Siam less than ten years ago.

We do not know who were the earliest inhabitants of Siam. All we know is that the Thai conquerors, coming down from their fastnesses in Southern China, seized the country from the Lawā, Môn and Khmer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D.

It is probable that the Môn-Khmer people of Siam and the rest of Further India, coming from the north like the Thai, drove out or absorbed a former Indonesian population, to-day represented by the various peoples of the East Indian Archipelago, and, to quote Kern, that the Malays wandered down to their southern habitat from the shores of present-day Annam.

The Jakun and Mawken, the sea gypsies of the west coast of Malaya and the Mergui Archipelago, who have been called Proto-Malays, may also belong to the Indonesian stock.

The Sémang pygmies of the Malay Peninsula constitute the remains of a much earlier population than the Môn-Khmer or Indonesian. They may have inhabited the isles and coasts of Further India right up to Southern China, if one can believe the narrative of the famous Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, who skirted those coasts when returning from India in the seventh century.

According to Mansuy, the skeletal finds in the caves of Tongking represent (1) the Negrito race; (2) a race very similar to the Papuans of New Guinea; and (3) that of a tall, well-developed race with large skulls resembling those of the Cro-Magnon.

Among the so-called Khā or Moi tribes in the jungles of French Indochina certain tribes are distinguished by their tall, fair-skinned dolichocephalic members, which may represent a mixture of Indonesians or Môn-Khmer with the large race from the Tongkinese caves. These Tongkinese "Cro-Magnons" were perhaps an offshoot, the most easterly one, of that ancient and splendid artistic race which 20,000 years ago peopled southern France and the Italian Riviera. In my opinion these large "Cro-Magnons" of Tongking do not represent the earliest inhabitants of Further India, but must be considered immigrants coming from the north-west. Systematic ex-

cavations of the numerous caves in North Siam would undoubtedly assist us in solving the problem of the habitat of these "Cro-Magnon" immigrants.

Professor Fritz Sarasin, in his papers on his searches for a palæolithic culture in the caves of Siam, suggests that the palæolithic people, whose stone implements were found by him belonged to a Proto-Melanesian race. I would suggest that these Proto-Melanesians have been found by Mansuy, and that they are represented by the Papuan-like skull found by him.

In conclusion, I shall venture to state as my opinion that the earliest inhabitants of Siam, and Further India, were pygmies, the direct ancestors of our present-day Sémang of the Malayan jungles. Further, that these ancient pygmies may have been the ancestors of the larger-bodied later races in conformity with the now prevailing theory which was first launched by Father Wilhelm Schmidt in his excellent work, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschen*.

Siam of to-day represents a melting-pot of many races, peoples and tongues which, at least outwardly, are in the process of being unified, speaking the same language, wearing the same national dress, and aspiring to the same social and political ideals. As such a process is bound to destroy a great number of ethnological and ethnographical characteristics, a thorough and detailed study of all the various groups, of which the present Siamese population is composed, is necessarily of the utmost importance for science.

Such research work should be taken up *now*, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the enlightened Government of Siam will do their best to assist and facilitate such work before it becomes too late.

The above paper was read by Major Seidenfaden before The International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology held at University College in London from the 30th July to the 4th August 1934. An extract of the paper appears in the report of this congress in *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques*, p.135, the full text having also been published in *The Asiatic Review* for October 1934, pp. 695-697.

FURTHER DOCUMENTS ON THE ROMANIZATION OF SIAMESE.⁽¹⁾

I

กรรมการพิจารณาวิธีเขียนอักษรไทยเป็นโรมัน

กรรมการชุดที่ ๒ ซึ่ง กระทรวง กรรมการ ตั้ง ได้ ประชุม ที่ กระทรวง
กรรมการวันที่ ๒๓ กรกฎาคม พ. ศ. ๒๔๗๗

ผู้ที่มาประชุม หม่อมเจ้าวรรณไวทยากร วรวรรณ ประธาน หม่อมเจ้า
รัชฎาภิเศก โสณกุล เสด็จอนุการ พระราชธรรมเทศ นายพันโท พระ
เจนภูมิศาสตร์ พรหมณ ป. ศ. ศาสตร์ กรรมการ

ขาด นาย จ. บุรณีย์ กรรมการ บัญ

ข้อตกลง

(๑) ในจำนวนแบบ ๔ แบบที่ เสด็จอนุการ ได้ส่งไปให้กรรมการแล้วก่อน
การประชุม นั้น แบบของหม่อมเจ้าคำรพคำรงค์ เทวกุล ให้เป็นอันตกไป
เพราะจะคล้ายเคียงกันไม่ได้ จะคล้ายกับรูปตัวอักษรไม่ได้

(๒) แบบที่กระทรวงกรรมการทำขึ้นนั้น เป็นแบบตามัญ (Transcrip-
tion) ซึ่งตามที่ได้นำขึ้นไว้แล้วในรายงานของกรรมการชุดแรกว่า อาจจะ
ขยาย เป็น แบบพิสดาร ได้ คือ ไป แบบ ของ กระทรวง กลาโหม และ ของ
ศาสตราจารย์ เซเตส์ เป็น แบบ พิศดาร หรือ วิธี ถอด อักษร โดย ตรง
(transliteration) ซึ่งจะใช้ประกอบการพิจารณาขยายแบบพิสดารได้ต่อไป

⁽¹⁾ See vol. XXVII, pp. 218A-231.

(๓) ให้แก้ แบบ ที่ เสนอ ใน รายงาน ของ กรรมการ กระทรวงการ
อุตสาหกรรม ดังต่อไปนี้

(ก) หน้า ๘ บรรทัดที่ ๓ ถึง ๖ ให้เติมคำ and general หลังคำ classical
และตัดคำทั้งหลายตั้งแต่ but... ถึง a: ออกเสีย,

(ข) สำหรับ แบบ สำคัญ และพิสดาร ให้แก้ และ เติม สระ และ พยัญชนะ
หน้า ๘, ๘, ๘, ๘๓, ๘๕, และเติมเครื่องหมายนั้นเสีย และวิธีแบ่งคำเป็น
พยางค์ ให้เป็นไปตามแบบต่อไปนี้— (ดูหน้า ๒)

(๔) แบบนพวงเสนอให้

(๑) กระทรวงการ

(๒) กระทรวงกลาโหม

(๓) ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน

(๔) สยามสมาคม

(๕) ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคส์ แห่ง เอกซต ฝรั่งเศส ของวัน ออก
แล้วจึงเสนอข้อวิภาษอีกข้อหนึ่ง

สระ

พิสดาร	สำเนียง	พิสดาร	สำเนียง
อะ	ah	เฮียะ	iah
อี	ā	เฮีย	ia, iā, ie, iē
อา	ā	เฮียะ	u'ah
เอ	ē	เฮีย	ū'a, ū'ā, ū'ē, ū'ē
อ	ī	ฮัวะ	uah
อิ	i	ฮัว	ūa, ūā, ūo, ūo
			ia (final)
			ie (before consonant)
			u'a (final)
			u'ē (before consonant)
			ua (final)
			uo (before consonant)

	พินัย	สำเนียง		พินัย	สำเนียง
อ	u	u	ไ	ai	ai
อ	u		ไ	ai	
อ	u	u	อ	ay	
อ	u		อ	aiy	
เอ	eh	e	เอ	ao	ao
เอ	eh		เอ	ao	
เอ	eh		อ	ui	ui
เอ	eh	o	อ	oi	oi
เอ	eh		อ	oi	oi
เอ	eh		เอ	oi	oi
อ	oh	o	อ	u'oi	u'oi
อ	oh		อ	noi	noi
อ	oh		อ	in	in
อ	oh	o	อ	eo	eo
อ	oh		อ	eo	
อ	oh		อ	ao	ao
อ	oh	oe	อ	ao	
อ	oh		อ	ieu	ieu
อ	oh				

พยัญชนะ

	พินิต	ดำนัญ		พินิต	ทัวไป
ก	k	k	ข	t	t
ค	kh	kh	ฅ	t	
ฅ	kh		ง	th	th
ค	kh		ก	th	
ค	kh		ท	th	
ฅ	kh		ฅ	th	
ง	ng	ng	ท	th	th
ทง	ng		ช	th	
จ	ç	ç	ญ (ดะกต)	n̄	n
ฉ	ch	ch	ณ	n	
ช	ch		น	n	
ณ	ch		หน	n̄	
ซ	s	s	บ	b	b
ทร	s		ป	p	p
ศ	s̄		ผ	ph̄	ph
ษ	s̄		พ	ph	
ศ	s̄		ภ	ph	
ญ (นำ)	ȳ	y	ฝ	f	f
หญ	ȳ		ฟ	f	
ย	y		ม	m	m
พย	ȳ		หม	m̄	

ฎ	ḍ	}	d	ห	h	}	h
ด	d			ช	h		
ท (บางครั้ง)	ṭ	}		ฤ (เสียง รั)	ṛṇ'	ru'	
ร	r	}	r	ฤ (เสียง ริ)	ṛi	ri	
ทร	ṛ			ฤ (เสียง เรอ)	ṛœ	rœ	
ถ	l	}	l	ฤ	ṛṇ'	ru'	
พ	l			ฤ	ṛṇ'	ru'	
ทอ	i	}		ฤ	ṛṇ'	ru'	
ว	w	}	w	ฤ	ṛṇ'	ru'	
ทว	w			ฤ	ṛṇ'	ru'	

เครื่องหมายผันเสียงสำหรับแบบพิศดาร

การผันใช้ตามเสียงทุก ๆ อักษรให้ผันเช่นอักษรกลาง และให้ใช้เครื่องหมายเหนือและใต้ ๔ ระตามแบบบังคับกวีคดี

ตัวอย่าง

กา ก่า ก้า กัว กัว = ka kã kâ kâ kâ

วิธีถอดอักษรเป็นคำ ๆ

แบบฉำฉำใช้อย่าง ที่กระทรวงธรรมการ ตกตง แล้ว และให้ถอดเป็นพยางค์ ๆ ไปตามลักษณะของภาษาไทย

แบบพิศดารเติมตัวสะกดการันต์หรือตัวที่ไม่ได้ขอกเสียงในวงเล็บ ()

ตัวอย่าง

	<u>อ่าน</u>	<u>พินัย</u>
กษัตริย์	kasat	kaśat (triy)
ประกาศ	prakat	prakāt (s')
ราชบุรี	Ratburi	Rāt (ch) buri
ใช้—(hyphen) สำหรับแบ่งพยางค์ ในกรณีที่ไม่ใช้ อาจอ่าน		
ไปเช่นอย่างอื่นได้ เช่น สึง = sa-ing ปากดัด = pak-lat		

II

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY BY AN INFORMAL TRANSCRIPTION COMMITTEE.

A memorandum embodying the views of a Committee appointed by the State Councillor for Education on the subject of a system for the transcription of Siamese into Roman characters has been submitted to the Siam Society for an opinion.

This Memorandum is a sequel to the Memorandum published in the Journal of the Siam Society, vol. XXVI, part 2, pp. 219-231.

The President thought it convenient to call a meeting of a quite informal character composed of persons interested in the matter but not necessarily connected with the Siam Society.

This informal Committee met on Monday the 3rd, Friday the 7th and Monday the 10th of September. As the consideration of the scheme presented some difficulties this informal Committee decided to report to the Council of the Siam Society that it would be advisable to require the Hon. Secretary of the Society to write officially to the Chairman of the Transcription Committee saying that it was probable that the Council might be unable to forward its report on September the 15th, the date fixed, but hoped that the report would not be submitted much after that date.

This Committee has formulated the following suggestions for the consideration of the Council:—

- (1) The notation of initials as laid down in the scheme would seem to lend itself to some improvement.

- (a) The initial glottal stop should be noted by the use of the following symbol: ' , which is one of the more generally accepted symbols for that purpose. Ex: *an* should be noted 'ān. The reason for this suggestion is that the notation, or the absence of notation, proposed by the Transcription Committee is an *implicit* one and it is felt that *explicit* notations are always preferable. On the other hand adopting such explicit notation is simply following the method of the Siamese script and providing in the transcription a counterpart for a symbol which appears in the Siamese original and would otherwise be left unnoted.
- (b) It is felt that the suggestion of replacing the series:
- | | | | |
|----|----|----|-----|
| | kh | k' | kh' |
| by | kh | k' | k'h |
- should be adopted.
- (2) As regards the vowels it is considered that if the symbol *u'* is accepted then the same recommendation should apply to the symbol *o'*. It would not seem to be consistent to retain one symbol while rejecting the other.
- (3) As regards finals the subject bristles with so many difficulties that it was decided not to attempt to amend in any way the suggestions of the Transcription Committee except in one instance, that is the substitution of the symbol : for the *h*. The reason for this recommendation is that the symbol *h* is used in Sanskrit for the notation of the *visarga* which is different from the Siamese glottal stop. The proposed recommendation would have the advantage of doing away with any possible misunderstanding in this connection.
- (4) As regards the notation of quantity, it is suggested that in order to apply consistently the principle that implicit notations should be avoided, the notation *ah*, *eh*, etc., (or under para 3) *ā:*, *ē:*, etc. should be replaced by *āh*, *ēh*, etc., or *ā:*, *ē:*, etc., respectively.
- (5) In the matter of tone marks, there is some difference of opinion as regards the selection of symbols, some members advocating the use of the Siamese tone marks, while other members are of opinion that only diacritical marks in use in

roman type founts should be adopted, as the scheme is a scheme for romanization.

On the other hand if the latter opinion, which incidentally coincides with the system recommended by the Transcription Committee, is adopted, it might be as well to simplify the tone notation in one respect namely by discarding the underneath or subscribed dot and replace it by the use of the cap, a diacritical mark which has been rendered available by the rejection of the two symbols *ē* and *ō* for which *æ* and *ø* have been substituted.

The advantage which would accrue from the adoption of this suggestion is that all tone marks would receive uniformity of position, i. e. : *a*, *á*, *à*, *ã*, *ä*.

The Committee has only considered absolute essentials in order not to delay the adoption of a workable scheme, leaving it to experience to suggest improvement in less important features.

[The above suggestions are tabulated in the two tables on pages 27 and 28].

TABLE I
INITIALS

Glottal stop		h—							
		'—							
Guttural series		ŋ—	ʔ—	ʔ—	ʔ—	ʔ—	ʔ—	ʔ—	
		k—	kh—	kh—	k'—	k'—	k'h—	ng—	
Palatal series		ɕ—	ɕ—		ɕ—		ɕ—	ɕ—	
		ç—	ch—		c'—		c'h—	ñ—	
Lingual series		ɖ—	ɖ—	ɖ—			ɖ—	ɖ—	
		d—	t—	th—		d', t'	t'h—	ɳ—	
Dental series		ʈ—	ʈ—	ʈ—			ʈ—	ʈ—	
		d—	t—	th—		t'	t'h—	n—	
Labial series		ɸ—	ɸ—	ɸ—	ɸ—	ɸ—	ɸ—	ɸ—	
		b—	p—	ph—	f—	p'	f'—	p'h—	m—
Semivowels			ɹ—	ɹ—	ɹ—	ɹ—	ɹ—		
			y—	r—	l—	w—	l—		
Spirants		ʃ—	ʃ—	ʃ—	ʃ—	ʃ—	ʃ—	ʃ—	
		ś—	s—	s—	s'—	s'—	h—	h'—	

TABLE II
FINALS

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Ka	Kā:	Kāk	Kāt	Kāp	Kāng	Kān	Kām	Kāi	Kāo
	—ā:	—āk	—āt	—āp	—āng	—ān	—ām	—āi	—āo
—a		—ak	—at	—ap	—ang	—an	—am	—ai	—ao
	—ī:	—īk	—īt	—īp	—īng	—īn	—īm		—iu
—i		—ik	—it	—ip	—ing	—in	—im		—iu
	—ū:	—ūk	—ūt	—ūp	—ūng	—ūn	—ūm		
—u		—uk	—ut	—up	—ung	—un	—um	—ui	
	—ē:	—ēk	—ēt	—ēp	—ēng	—ēn	—ēm		—eu
—e		—ek	—et	—ep	—eng	—en	—em		—eu
	—æ:	—æk	—æt	—æp	—æng	—æn	—æm		—æo
—æ		—æk	—æt	—æp	—æng	—æn	—æm		—æo
	—ō:								
—o		—ok	—ot	—op	—ong	—on	—om	—oi	
	—ō:	—ōk	—ōt	—ōp	—ōng	—ōn	—ōm		
—o		—ok	—ot	—op	—ong	—on	—om	—oi	
	—ō:								
—o		—o'k	—o't	—o'p	—o'ng	—o'n	—o'm	—o'i	
	—iā:								
—in		—iek	—iet	—iep	—ieng	—ien	—iem		—ieu
	—uā:								
—u'a		—u'o'k	—u'o't	—u'o'p	—u'o'ng	—u'o'n	—u'o'm	—u'o'i	
	—uā:								
—ua		—nok	—not	—nop	—uon	—uon	—uon	—noi	

TONE MARKS

\overline{m} . \overline{m} . \overline{m} . \overline{m} . \overline{m} .
 ka, kâ, kà, kâ, kâ.

III

บันทึก

วิธีเขียนอักษรไทยเป็นโรมัน

ข้าพเจ้า ได้ ปรึกษา กับ ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ ในเรื่อง อักษร^{๕๖}ตัว
ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ ยินยอม ให้มี ๒ แบบ คือ แบบสามัญ ๓ แบบ
และ พิศดาร ๓.

ในส่วนแบบสามัญนั้น ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ตกลงด้วยในส่วนพยัญชนะ.
ในส่วนสระนั้น ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์เห็นว่า ใช้ ๑ สำหรับ แอ, ๑ สำหรับ
อธ และ ๐ สำหรับ เอธ อย่างที่ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ ใช้อยู่^{๕๗}นั้นจะดีกว่า.
นาย จ. บุรณัยเห็นว่า ควรขึ้นตามที่คณะกรรมการได้ตกลงไว้ คือ ใช้
๓ สำหรับ แอ, ๐ สำหรับ อธ และ ๓ สำหรับ เอธ ก็ดีกว่า.

ข้าพเจ้าได้หารือ นายพันโท พระเจนภูมิศาสตร์^{๕๘} แล้ว นายพันโท พระ
เจนภูมิศาสตร์ เห็นว่า ควรขึ้นตามที่คณะกรรมการได้ตกลงไว้ เพราะถ้า
ถ้าจะใช้ ๑ และ ๐ แล้ว จะไม่สะดวกในการเขียนแผนที่.

ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ ได้รับกับข้าพเจ้าว่า ถ้าฝ่ายไทยตกลงอย่างไร ทาง
ฝ่ายวิทยาลัยฝรั่งเศสแห่งวันออกไกลยอมใช้อันใดตาม.

ข้าพเจ้าจึงลงเนื้อเห็นว่า ควรขึ้นตามที่คณะกรรมการได้ตกลงไว้.

ส่วนสระผสม เอา, เอธ, แอว, ซึ่งศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์ ใช้ตัว ๓ เป็นตัว
ควบนั้น บัดนี้ยอมใช้ตัว ๐ ตามที่คณะกรรมการตกลงแล้ว.

ในส่วนแบบพิศดารนั้น สำหรับเครื่องหมายสั้นยาว ศาสตราจารย์ เซเคต์
ขอให้ใช้แต่เครื่องหมายสั้น ส่วนสระยาวนั้นไม่พึงใช้เครื่องหมาย^{๕๙} ทงน
อาศัยเหตุที่ว่าสระภาษาไทยมียาวมากกว่าสั้น.

นายพันโท พระเจนภูมิศาสตร์ ไม่รักชอง.

ข้าพเจ้าก็เห็นควรตกลงตามได้.

เพราะฉะนั้นขอให้เก็บรายงานการถอด อักษรไทย เป็นโรมันของกระทรวง
กรรมการหน้า ๖—๘ เลข 4. โดยตัดคำ "Quantities etc. ไปจนถึงคำ a:"
ออกเสีย.

ส่วนตัวสระในหน้า ๘—๘ นั้นให้แก้ตามแบบซึ่งแนบมานี้.

ในส่วนพยัญชนะแห่งแบบพิศดารนั้น ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์กล่าวว่า การ
ที่จะใช้จุดต่างๆ นั้น เกรงว่าจะไม่สะดวกในการพิมพ์ และโดยที่แบบของ
ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ได้ใช้ อยู่ทางวิทยาลัย ฝรั่งเศส แห่ง ดอนยอกโกเดอัว
ถ้าทางฝ่ายไทยนั้นพอจะตกลงตามได้แล้ว ก็ขอให้ตกลงตามเถิด.

นาย จ. บุรณีย์ ก็เห็นด้วย และนายพันโท พระเจนภูมิศาสตร์ ไม่รัก
ชอง เพราะว่า แบบพิศดารไม่เกี่ยวกับร่างการของกรมแผนที่เท่าใดนัก.

ข้าพเจ้าเองก็ตกลงกับ ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ในแบบพิศดาร นั้นไปครึ่ง
หนึ่งแล้ว แต่เห็นว่าถ้าจะให้ถูกระเบียบ ตัว ข ฃ ค ฅ ฌ ญ นั้น ควรจะ
ใช้ k-h แทนที่ใช้ kh อยู่เดี๋ยวนี้.

ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ก็เห็นด้วย และรับว่า ถ้าทางนี้ตกลง กันเช่นนั้น
ก็จะแก้ตาม แต่ข้าพเจ้ามาใคร่ครวญดูอีกแล้ว เห็นว่า ในการพิมพ์อาจ
จะทำให้ตัว h ห่างจากตัว k ฯลฯ มากเกินไป จึงเห็นว่าจะไว้ตามแบบของ
ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ก็ได้ เว้นแต่ตัว ศ ซึ่งศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ใช้ c นั้น
ข้าพเจ้ายังไม่เห็นด้วย ข้าพเจ้าเห็นว่า ศ ควรจะใช้ s จะได้เข้าระดับ กับ
ตัว ษ ๕ และศ ๖.

ส่วน ห (นำ) ซึ่งทำให้เป็นอักษรสูงนั้น ศาสตราจารย์เซเคต์ ใช้เครื่องหมาย
นั้นถึงยังแทน ข้าพเจ้าเห็นว่าสะดวกดีแล้ว.

เพื่อความสะดวกในการพิจารณา ข้าพเจ้าขอเสนอแบบถอดอักษรที่ได้
แบบมาน.

วรรณ ไวยากรณ์ วรรณ

กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ

วังสราญรมย์, กรุงเทพฯ

วันที่ ๑๔ สิงหาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๗.

VOWELS.

Italian Vowels except that
 ๓ = sound of *ea* in English 'bear';
 ๑ = sound of *aw* in English 'dawn';
 ๔ = sound of *eu* in French 'people';
 u' = a sound more open than German *ü*.

	GENERAL	PRECISE
	สามัญ	พิสดาร
อะ อี อึ	a	ah ä a
อา	am	ām
อิ อี	i	ī i
อุ อู	u'	ū' u'
อู อู	u	ū u
เอะ เอ็ เอ	e	eh ē e
แอะ แอ	๓	ah ๓
โอะ ๓(—) โอ	o	oh ō o
เฮอะ ฮอ	๑	oh ๑
เออะ เอ็ เออ—เอ	๔	eh ē ๔

	GENERAL		PRECISE
	สามัญ		พิศดาร
เียะ เีย	ia (final) ie-(before consonant)	iah	ia (final) ie-(before consonant)
เียะ เีย	u'a (final) u'æ-(before consonant)	u'ah	u'a (final) u'æ (before consonant)
อัวะ อัว	ua (final) uo-(before consonant)	uah	ua (final) uo-(before consonant)
ไย ไย อัย ไย อาย	ai	ai ai ay aiy	ai
เอา อาว	ao	ǎo ao	
อุย	ui	ui	
ไย	oi	oi	
ออย	oi	oi	
เีย	œi	œi	
เียะ	u'œi	u'œi	
อัวะ	uoi	uoi	
อัว	iu	iu	
เอา เอา	eo	ǎo eo	
เอา	æo	æo	
เียะ	ieu	ieu	
ฤ (เสียง ิ) ฤ	ru'	rǎ' ru'	
ฤ (เสียง ี) ฤ	ri	ri	
ฤ (เสียง เอ) ฤ	rae	rae	
รุ ฤ	lu'	lǎ' lu'	

CONSONANTS.

English consonants except that:—

Initial k p and t are unaspirated as in French;

Final k p and t are unexplosive and unaspirated;

kh = k aspirated;

ph = p aspirated, not English ph;

th = t aspirated, not English th;

ĕ = hardened form of ch as the cz in Czechoslovak;

ch = always as in English 'church';

ng = as in English 'singer' never as in 'linger'.

	GENERAL		PRECISE	
	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
ก	k	k	k	k
ข ฃ ค ฅ ฆ	kh	k	kh kḥ ḳ ḳ̚ kḥ̚	k (kh) etc.
ง	ng	ng	ng	ng
จ	ĕ	t	ĕ	t (ĕ)
ฉ ฌ ฎ	ch	t	ch c' ch'	t (ch) etc.
ญ	y	n	ñ	ñ
ด ฎ ฏ (นดฏ)	d	t	ḍ ḍ̚ ḍ̚'	t (d) etc.
ต ฏ	t	t	ṭ ṭ̚	ṭ ṭ̚
ถ ฐ ฑ ฒ ฌ ฎ	th	t	tḥ tḥ̚ ṭ̚ tḥ̚'	t (th) etc.
น ฏ	n	n	ṇ ṇ̚	ṇ ṇ̚
บ	b	p	b	p (b)
ป	p	p	p	p

	GENERAL		PRECISE	
	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
ผ พ ภ	ph	p	ph p' ph'	p (ph)
ฝ ฟ	f	p	f f'	p (f) etc.
ม	m	m	m	m
ย	y	—	y	—
ร	r	n	r	n (r)
รร	—	n	—	n (rr)
ล ฬ	l	n	l l	n (l) n (l)
ว	w	—	w	—
ศ ษ ส ฐ ฏ ฐ	s	t	s s' s'	t (s) etc.
ห ฬ	h	—	h h'	—

เครื่องหมายผันเสียงสำหรับแบบพิศดาร

การผันใช้ตามเสียงทุก ๆ อักษรให้ผันเช่นอักษรกลาง และให้ใช้เครื่องหมายเหนือและใต้สระ ตามแบบบังคับกวีศรี.

ตัวอย่าง

กา ก่า กัว กัว ก่า

ka ká kà ká ká

วิธีถอดอักษรเป็นคำ ๆ

แบบสำเนียงใช้อย่างที่ กระทรวงธรรมการ คัดลงแล้ว และ ให้ ถอดเป็น พยางค์ ๆ ไปตามลักษณะของภาษาไทย.

แบบพิศดารเติมตัวสะกดการันต์หรือตัวที่ไม่ได้ออกเสียงในวงเล็บ ()

ตัวอย่าง

	<u>สำเนียง</u>	<u>พิศดาร</u>
กษัตริย์	kasat	kāsat(tri-y)
ประกาศ	prakat	prākat(s)
ราชบุรี	Ratburi	Rāt(ch)būri

ใช้—(hyphen) สำหรับแบ่งพยางค์ ในกรณีที่ถ้าไม่ใช่อาจจะอ่านไป
เป็นอย่างอื่นได้ เช่น ส้อง = sā-ing ปากดัด = pak-lat

THE RETIREMENT OF THE FRENCH GARRISON FROM
BANGKOK IN THE YEAR 1688

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M. A. Cantab.

I. Manuscripts presented with translations:

1) Original of Portuguese letter of September 1688 from Macao, of which an English translation has been published in 1916, *Records of the Relations...*, vol. V, n^o. 31, pp. 55-59. Lisbon State Library, n^o 465, f^o 186.

2) Original in Latin with English translation of letter dated 26th of November, 1688, from Father Maldonato S. J., Rome, Propaganda Fede, Scrittura riferite, vol. V, n^o 104.

3) Original in Latin with English translation of letter dated 23rd of November, 1689, from the Bishop of Metellopolis, Rome, Propaganda Fede, Scrittura riferite, vol. V, n^o 195.

4) Original in Latin of letter dated 20th of June, 1706, from Dom Guimar de Pina, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Mémoires et Documents, Asie, vol. 2, n^o 90.

Translation: Free translation in English of the French version of a letter dated 27th of December, 1693, sent in triplicate by P'ya Kosa Tibodi, Minister of the King of Siam to M. Martin, Governor of Pondichéry, M. Brisacier, Missions étrangères, Paris, and Father de la Chaise, Chaplain to Louis XIV., Paris, Missions étrangères, vol. 862, p. 677; vol. 863, p. 275; vol. 890, p. 853. The French version was published by Adrien Launay in his *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*.

II. List of manuscripts and publications to which reference is made in the text:

MANUSCRIPTS.

A. C.: Archives des Colonies, Paris, series C², Letters etc., Affaires de Siam, Journal de Cèberet.

A. M.: Archives de la Marine, Paris, series B², Letters etc., T⁴, Tachard's letters.

M. E.: Missions étrangères, rue du Bac, Paris.

The voluminous archives of the Missions Etrangères consist of letters received from missionaries since 1660, collected into volumes which contain also the copies of certain relevant documents, such as the version of Kosa Pan's letters.

Q. d'O.: Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Quai d'Orsay, Paris.

P.F.: Propaganda Fede, Rome, Scrittura riferita.

PUBLICATIONS.

Anon. *Relation des Révolutions arrivées à Siam dans l'année 1688*, Amsterdam, Pierre Brunel, 1691.

Vollant des Verquins, *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*, Lille, J. C. Malte, 1691.

Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, London, 1727.

Lucien Lanier, *Etude historique* . . . , Versailles, 1883.

Paul Kaepelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1908.

Records of the Relations between Siam and foreign countries in the 17th century, 5 vol., Bangkok, 1915-1921.

Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*, Paris, 1920.

Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640-1740*, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1932.

E. W. Hutchinson, *The French Foreign Mission in Siam*, JSS, XXVI, pt. 1, (April 1932), pp. 1-72.

id., *Four French State Manuscripts*, JSS, XXVII, pt. 2, (April 1935), pp. 183-244.

M. M. de La Loubère and Céberet, the Envoys of Louis XIV who accompanied the French troops to Siam in 1687, reached France on their return from the East in July 1688, ⁽¹⁾ accompanied by the French Jesuit Tachard, who was to recruit a force of civilians in France for service in Siam under Phaulkon. ⁽²⁾ The fruit of their labours was already spoilt by Phaulkon's death in Siam a month before their return to Europe, but the fact was not known there for more than a year.

Before leaving Siam the Envoys had signed a treaty with Phaulkon which gave a French garrison to the King of Siam to protect him against the Dutch whom he feared. Sundry commercial and religious privileges originally proposed by Siam in 1685 had been clarified and improved by the Treaty, but the Siamese offer of a depot for troops and traders in the dependency of Singora had been converted by the French into a pretext for introducing their troops into the fortress of Bangkok and for drafting a detachment to Mergui.

Phaulkon, the Greek favourite of King P'ra Narai, in negotiating

⁽¹⁾ Kaepelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 214.

⁽²⁾ Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France*, p. 58.

with the French who were backed by an armament capable of enforcing their demands, made terms with them which appeared to save the face of Siam, but thereby antagonised the French, earning for himself the distrust of both sides. It was suspected that he was glad to have the garrison near him when the King fell ill, but any reliance he may have placed in it was disappointed in April 1688, when the appeal which he sent to the French for help against his enemies was ignored.⁽¹⁾ Deserted by the French, he fell in May, and was executed in June 1688. The King died soon afterwards, following which the French troops in Bangkok were besieged for some months by the Siamese. The warship *Oriflamme*, which left France in February 1688 with reinforcements for Bangkok, arrived in September, too late to be of any service other than that of expediting the departure of the whole French force from Siam.

News of all this ruin did not reach Europe until late in 1689. Meanwhile, the Revolution in Siam had been followed within a few months by the Revolution in England, which country, under the leadership of William of Orange, ceased to give support to Louis XIV, and joined the general confederation against him.

It had been the intention of the Marquis de Seignelay, Louis' foreign Minister, early in 1689, to follow the precedent of the previous year when he sent out the *Oriflamme* to Siam.⁽²⁾ Four warships were to sail for the Bay of Bengal under the command of the Marquis d'Eragny in order to prevent any attack being made by the English upon Mergui. In March 1689 de Seignelay obtained Louis' signature to orders for M. Martin, the French chief at Pondichéry, who was to proceed to Mergui in person and co-operate in every way with d'Eragny. In April 1689 however Louis intervened to postpone the expedition, and despatched three of the ships to assist James II. in his futile Irish campaign.⁽³⁾

In the autumn of 1689 some anxiety was felt in France at the non-arrival of the two vessels, *Coche* and *Normande*, which were overdue from the East. There were also rumours abroad concerning trouble in Siam. They were discounted as propaganda of the enemy. Nevertheless, it was felt necessary to hasten the despatch of a power-

(1) E. W. Hutchinson, *Four French State Manuscripts*, JSS, vol. XXVII, p. 183-244, for the negotiations in 1685 and 1687.

(2) Lanier, *Etude Historique*, p. 275.

(3) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 217, and A.M., B^e, 69, f^o 204 sequ.

ful squadron to the Bay of Bengal, and on the 20th of September 1689 orders were issued to Captain Duquesne-Guiton to assume command of the six vessels, *Oiseau*, *Dragon*, *Lion*, *Florissant*, *Gaillard*, and *Erueil*, which were to sail at once.⁽¹⁾ At the last moment, on the 6th of November 1689, definite confirmation of the rumours about trouble in Siam was received from the Dutch concentration camp for prisoners of war at Middleburg, where it was learnt that survivors from the *Coche* and *Normande*, together with part of the Siam garrison were held captive by the Dutch, who had seized the two ships off the Cape.⁽²⁾

Tachard, with his party of civilians for service under Phaulkon, was to have sailed for Siam with Duquesne-Guiton. On receipt of the news from Middleburg, the civilians had to be disbanded, and the plan for their employment in Siam abandoned.⁽³⁾ The departure of the squadron was postponed until early January 1690. Tachard was permitted to accompany it in order to try and win the favour of the new King of Siam with the presents intended originally for P'ra Narai.⁽⁴⁾

The earliest rumours of trouble in Siam were current in France during the summer of 1689. Their doubtful nature may be inferred from the first manuscript, a letter in Portuguese written after the arrival at Macao in September of news brought by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi shortly after Phaulkon's death.

The second manuscript contains an authentic, and probably the first written account of the disaster following Phaulkon's death from the pen of an eye-witness, the Flemish Jesuit Fr. Maldonato.

The third manuscript, a letter from Bishop Laneau, records the misfortunes of the French who remained in Siam after the departure of the troops.

The fourth manuscript gives an insight into the circumstances of Phaulkon's widow eighteen years after his death.

Kosa Pan's letter gives the Siamese version of events leading up to and following the Revolution, also of the retirement of the garrison.

The French version of events following the Revolution was first published in 1691 in the form of two books by eye-witnesses, both of

(1) A.M., B², 70, ff^o 80, 93, 135; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 and 219.

(2) A.M., B², 70, f^o 256 v^o; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

(3) Dated 27th Nov., 1690: M. E., 880, p. 380.

(4) Dated 4th Jan., 1690: Prop. Fede, Scr. ref., V, n^o 239.

whom were Officers with the French troops. Vollant des Verquins, whose book⁽¹⁾ was published at Lille in 1691, was one of the Frenchmen from Bangkok who was captured by the Dutch with the ships, *Coebe* and *Normande*, whilst on their way home. The author of the anonymous work *Relation des Révolutions* was, according to the text, no other than Desfarges, the General in command of the French force in Siam. He did not leave the East for home until March 1690, thirteen months later than Vollant. After a long and circuitous voyage via the West Indies in the warship *Océflamme*, he was drowned when that vessel was wrecked off the Breton coast on the 27th of February 1691.⁽²⁾

These two works confirm each other. Both were published during the same year in Flanders and Holland while Vollant was interned. Neither of them records events subsequent to Vollant's parting from Desfarges. It is therefore probable that the latter entrusted his manuscript to Vollant for publication before his own return home. His object may well have been to direct the notice of the public to his success in extricating his men from a difficult situation, and thereby divert attention from his share in the fiasco of the French in Siam and from the misfortunes of those whom he left behind there.

When in May 1688 Pra Pet Racha succeeded in his coup d'état, the position of Desfarges became extremely delicate, since his troops, as a condition of being admitted into Bangkok, had sworn an oath of allegiance to King Pra Narai, who was still alive. Having declined to intervene on Phaulkon's behalf in April, Desfarges was not likely to initiate hostilities after his death. At the same time, Pra Pet could not hope for Desfarges' support, since the latter had suggested to Phaulkon in April that they should both offer their services to Pra Narai's brothers, an offer which compromised him with Pra Pet.⁽³⁾

Pra Pet had appointed Kosa Pau, the late Siamese Ambassador to Paris, to be his Minister of Treasury, and relied upon his experience of the French to enable him to rid the country of their

(1) *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*, by Vollant des Verquins.

(2) A.C., C² 6, f^o 249; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

(3) For events in Siam during 1688 the following sources have been consulted: *Relation des Révolutions*; Vollant des Verquins, *op. cit.*; The letters of Artus de Lionne, M.E., 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319 and M.E., 856, p. 123.

presence without endangering the safety of the Siamese who had been left behind in France, as might have resulted if he had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the French in Siam.

The Siamese therefore decided to invite Desfarges to come up to Lopburi and see them. They there asked him to bring up his men to help crush a fictitious rebellion in the North East.⁽¹⁾ Desfarges succeeded in temporising on the plea that his personal presence and authority would be needed to persuade his officers to obey this order. Once safely back again within the Fortress at Bangkok, Desfarges consulted with his Officers. It was decided to abandon the Fort on the West Bank of the river, and to retire into the shelter of Forbin's new works on the east bank.

The Siamese immediately occupied the position on the west bank which the French had abandoned. Thereupon the latter attempted to recapture it, not supposing that it was held in force. By so doing, the French became the aggressors. Also, by their unsuccessful sortie they encouraged in the Siamese a hope of forcing them to surrender. The French then allowed the Siamese to invest them, pending the arrival of help from the ships which were patrolling the gulf under the command of French officers. To expedite the return of these ships, a junior officer, St Cricq, attempted to break out to sea in a small junk. St Cricq had not proceeded far down stream before he found himself surrounded by enemy craft. Seeing that there was no escape, he permitted the enemy to close with him. He then fired his powder-magazine, perishing in the flames which destroyed a number of his adversaries.

At first, the siege was conducted with energy, and the defenders were kept on the alert by fears of incendiarism at night, but in July the ardour of the Siamese abated. Desfarges attributed the change in their demeanour to the impression made upon them by St Cricq's desperate action. Kosa Pan claimed afterwards that the French asked for terms. Probably what happened was that the French Jesuits in the Fort succeeded in communicating with Bishop Laneau, whom the Siamese employed as their intermediary, and that through these channels the Siamese learnt that Desfarges was prepared to withdraw from the country on terms. He had been unable to establish contact with the French crews of the two ships in the Gulf. The latter had been met at the Bar by the Siamese and conducted

(1) Kosa Pan's letter, translation n°. 5.

direct to the capital before they learnt of the plight of their fellow-countrymen in Bangkok.

In September 1688, when the *Ori Flamme* arrived with reinforcements from France, the negotiations for withdrawal of the garrison were in full swing. The Siamese were able to prevent direct intercourse between this ship and Desfarges until all danger of collusion was past. The additional 200⁽¹⁾ Frenchmen in this ship were thus merely an encumbrance to Desfarges, since he had no means of feeding them without the help of the Siamese, and they occupied accommodation in the ship which otherwise might have been utilised by his own troops. He was therefore obliged to hire two ships from the Siamese for the repatriation of his men to Pondichéri. He agreed that Bishop Laneau and Vêret, Agent in Siam of the *Compagnie des Indes*, should stand security for the return of the ships and their hire.

A hitch was caused in the final negotiations by the sudden arrival in Bangkok of Phaulkon's widow, known in after years as Dona Guimar de Pina. One of Desfarges' Officers, Ste Marie, had been up to Ayut'ia to buy provisions for the journey, and there received an appeal from the lady for protection from the importunities of a nobleman. She succeeded in winning the sympathy of Ste Marie, with whose help she reached Bangkok, determined to claim a passage to France. Céberet appears to have offered Phaulkon shares in the *Compagnie des Indes* to the amount of fr. 300,000, of which the latter had actually taken up one third.⁽²⁾ That the widow had a just claim to these funds is implied by the grant which she received subsequently of a pension to which reference is made in her letter, the fourth Manuscript accompanying this article.⁽³⁾

The Siamese objected to her leaving Siam, probably for the reason that they themselves claimed the return to them of Phaulkon's foreign investments, and feared that if she went to France she would anticipate them.

Desfarges himself was quite ready to surrender her to her enemies, but he was opposed by eight out of ten of his officers backed by de Lionne. The Bishop supported Desfarges, holding that the comfort of

(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 263, for the statement that 350 men embarked.

(2) A.C., *Affaires de Siam*.

(3) Also M.E., 882, p. 430.

a single woman should not be allowed to prejudice the safety of the whole garrison.⁽¹⁾

The deadlock was only resolved when Vêret produced a letter from the widow's mother begging that her daughter be sent back to her at Ayut'ia. Fr. Maldonato states that all the French clergy were detained in custody by the Siamese until the widow left the French camp. Desfarges in his narrative deplored this complication, which came at a moment when he was haggling over the equipment of his ships, but he stated that he eventually obtained an assurance that she and her family would enjoy liberty of conscience and protection from violence. This undertaking appears to have been observed, since Kaempfer on his visit to Ayut'ia in 1690 had no remark to make about ill-treatment, but merely observed that she was living in extreme poverty.⁽²⁾

Vollant gives as follows the terms of the agreement finally made between Desfarges and Kosa Pan:

"Desfarges was to hire two ships on the security of Vêret and
"the Bishop, who stood surety for the return of the ships with
"payment for their hire, also for the return of cash declared by
"Phaulkon at his trial to be owing to him by the *Compagnie des*
"Indes.

"The garrison was to retire with all the honours of war, taking
"with it all its cannon, munitions and baggage, after delivering the
"fortress intact to the Siamese.

"The Jesuits were to have the option of remaining in Siam
"with the Missionaries in enjoyment of all the privileges conferred by the late King.

"The Company was to retain the concessions made to it in the
"earlier treaties.⁽³⁾

"Hostages were to be exchanged during the period covered by
"the retirement to the ships. Those held by the French were to
"travel down river with Desfarges, while those held by the Siamese
"were to follow within gunshot of them. The hostages of both
"sides were to be re-exchanged at the Customs post near the
"mouth of the river.

(1) M.E., 854, p. 657.

(2) Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, Glasgow ed., 1906, p. 35.

(3) i.e. the treaties made by Deslandes in 1682-83.

The hostages given by the French were Vêret and one of the General's sons. They were allowed by the Siamese to board Desfarges' boat for luncheon while still some way above the Customs post. At this moment news came that some of the craft loaded with cannon had run aground soon after leaving the fortress. Desfarges suspected that the alleged accident was designed to rob him of the cannon. He refused therefore to allow Vêret and his son to leave the boat, and he did not surrender the two Siamese whom he held as hostages. His own reference to the incident is quite brief. He states that he had been warned to expect an attack as he was leaving the fortress, but that the Siamese contented themselves with holding back some of his boats, for which reason he refused to surrender the hostages he held.

It is extraordinary that Desfarges should not have reckoned upon the impression of treachery which his action was bound to create in the minds of the Siamese, even if their own consciences were as little clear as he suspected. It is also extraordinary that the Jesuits and de Lionne, who elected to retire with him, should not have prevailed upon him to refrain from an action certain to compromise the position of the Bishop and of the Frenchmen remaining in Siam, upon whom the resentment of the Siamese must fall.

While Vollant deplored the misunderstanding, which he attributed to mutual suspicions revived by the incident of Phaulkon's widow, Kosa Pan's letter shows that the Siamese drew the worst conclusions. Their reactions are described by Fr. Maldonado and by Bishop Laneau in the second and third manuscripts. The justice of Kosa Pan's contention cannot be denied that when the guaranteed party evades his responsibilities it is the guarantor who pays for him. Kosa Pan went so far as to claim that by Siamese law the Bishop, as guarantor became liable for the death penalty. Eight out of the ten priests together with thirty-three French laymen were imprisoned and treated so roughly that some actually died.⁽¹⁾ It appears therefore that Kosa Pan took undue credit for his clemency.

The letter of Fr. Maldonado emphasises the bitter feelings which the Siamese entertained for the French. The Bishop, in his letter, appeared to regard the persecution as inevitable. His protests were reserved for the insubordinate Portuguese clergy, especially Peter Martyr, one of Phaulkon's late secretaries, whom the Bishop had

⁽¹⁾ M.E., 680, pp. 15 and 139; 862, p. 379; 880, pp. 311-613;

excommunicated for refusing to recognise the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicars. It is pleasing to observe that Fr. Maldonato gave no countenance to Peter Martyr's excesses, although as a Jesuit he must have sympathised with his protest against French episcopal jurisdiction in Siam. In fact, it would appear that the long standing feud between the French clergy and the Jesuits was finally composed and laid to rest from the time when the Flemish Jesuit Maldonato championed the cause of the persecuted French Missionaries at Ayut'ia.

One fact of great importance emerges from Fr. Maldonato's letter, namely that the Siamese confined their reprisals to the members of the French Foreign Mission, while the Jesuits and Dominicans, who had been closely identified with Phaulkon, and whom we should expect to find involved in his disgrace, were left unmolested. The assumption therefore is that, when subjected to torture, Phaulkon cannot have disclosed his secret understanding with the Jesuits for the establishment of Christianity in Siam through the agency of foreign civilian officials, whom he had deputed Tachard to enlist in France with the help of the Jesuits.

In the matter of the hostages Desfarges showed himself much less considerate for the safety of those he was leaving behind him in Siam than did Phaulkon. It is possible that some stirrings of remorse for his abandonment of his surety, the Bishop, in November 1688, may have influenced his plans in February 1689.

In that month, upon his arrival at Pondichéri from Siam, he held a council of war at which M. Martin, the Company's chief, strongly urged the plan of an attack in force on Mergui. Others advocated returning home, but the majority with Desfarges were in favour of making a demonstration at Puket.⁽¹⁾ Arrived there, Desfarges attempted to effect a reconciliation with the Siamese by sending them back one of the men he held as hostages. They refused however to treat until all had been returned. The last hostages reached Ayut'ia in April 1691, after which the survivors among the captive Missionaries were released.

Desfarges was deterred from showing fight by the knowledge that the Siamese held the fate of these captives in their hands. Had the whole French force concentrated upon a surprise attack against Mergui, as Martin recommended, they had every chance of succeed-

(1) Kaepfelin, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

ing, and they would then have possessed a solid basis for negotiation, holding prisoners of their own for exchange with the captives at Ayut'ia.

Desfarges concluded his somewhat complacent narrative with the following justification of his Fabian tactics :

" My policy was to husband my ammunition and to gain time
" rather than risk courting an attack from the enemy after I had
" expended my powder. Events proved me to have been right.
" If by negotiating with them we had small hope of finding the
" Siamese sincere, we had none at all for our ultimate safety if we
" had rejected their advances.

" The greater part of my staff was for bolder action, but, as I
" repeatedly reminded them, it would never be too late to make a
" last desperate sortie, while time itself might bring us the relief
" which we could not hope to gain by any efforts of our own."

Were this the whole story of Desfarges' leadership, it might be possible to soften the reproach which is associated with his name. The expedition from beginning to end was a tragedy, of which not the least important feature was the selection of an elderly man having no experience of the East for the post of commanding officer. From the fact that he was accompanied by his two sons it would appear that Desfarges regarded Siam as a field for the improvement of the family's fortunes.⁽¹⁾ His command at Bangkok was disfigured by a laxity of discipline prejudicial to French prestige, and the affair of Phaulkon's widow is proof that he did not enjoy the ready obedience of his Officers.

His desertion of Phaulkon in April 1688 might be condoned on grounds of expediency advocated by the commercial and religious French residents, but it will be remembered that on two other occasions he shirked the risk of an engagement, both on his original arrival in Siam, when he refused to fight his way into Bangkok as the Envoys advised, rather than accept admission as a mercenary of Siam,⁽²⁾ and again in 1689 when Martin's projected attack on Mergui was not supported.⁽³⁾

In April 1688 it would not have been impossible for an energetic

(1) Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 220, who quotes a letter of Deslandes to Delagny.

(2) A.C., *Journal de Cèberet*.

(3) A.C., C¹ 63, f^o 145: Letter from Martin to de Seignelay.

man, backed by a loyal staff, to bring off the coup-de-main which Phaulkon desired. It must be admitted however that even if they had succeeded in maintaining Phaulkon in power in 1688, and had repressed Pra P'et, it is doubtful whether the French could have maintained the mastery over Siam against the will of the Siamese after the full effect was felt there of the union of England with Holland against France, which took place in 1689, followed by the capture of Pondichéri by the Dutch in 1693.

The expedition to Siam, although the largest, if the reinforcements are included, was by no means the first one sent to the East by Louis XIV in support of French commerce. When in 1664 the *Compagnie des Indes* was refloated by Colbert, the object was to found a colony at Madagascar as a base for the trade which was to be conducted with the West Coast of India. With this end in view, a military expedition under Montevergue was sent to occupy Madagascar, while the renegade Fleming, Caron, proceeded to Surat in order to open up trade there.

Later, when Madagascar was found to be too big an undertaking for the limited resources which France could spare, a military expedition was sent to found a colony in India. On the 5th of January 1670, Colonel de la Haye, by Royal decree, was given command of three men-of-war with 236 canon, and was empowered as Louis' Viceroy to appoint military governors in the occupied territory. A post was first seized in Ceylon, and later, the town of St Thomé, near Madras, was occupied, but both were lost to the Dutch owing to lack of unity between the French commercial and military leaders.⁽¹⁾

Then in 1687, when it was decided to accept the offer of a stronghold by the King of Siam, and with Phaulkon's aid to obtain a footing in Bangkok and Mergui, the military force despatched under Desfarges for the purpose was independent both of the Envoys entrusted with the negotiations, and of the traders on the spot who were to give effect to the treaty. The absence of any single controlling authority in the East gravely prejudiced the prospect even of any initial success which might have been obtained.

French enterprise in the East during the reign of Louis XIV suffered in the first place from too much state control. The Parisian merchants were shy of subscribing their capital, since they held that

(1) For an account of the *Compagnie des Indes*, v. Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

the Crown possessed too large a share.⁽¹⁾ It suffered in the second place in the East by the failure of the Crown to give supreme control to the Board of Directors of the Company, subjecting their local Agents to military and political dictation. It suffered in the third place occasionally from the misplaced zeal of French Missionaries. French Missionary enterprise was strong in the xviiith century, and Missionaries, who were in the field ahead of the traders, sometimes with the best of motives prevailed upon the latter to open trade in places more adapted to evangelistic than to commercial enterprise.⁽²⁾ This was the case in Siam.

On the whole, the French Company was not served worse by its Agents than the English East India Company. Even if Vêret,⁽³⁾ the French Agent in Siam, was not a man of merit, his predecessor Deslandes, as well as both Baron, who succeeded Caron, and Baron's successor, Martin, were all men of worth and ability, no less than their more fortunate English contemporary, Sir John Child, at Surat.

Child, it is true, was dependent upon London for orders which he handed on to his colleagues at Madras, the station responsible for the abortive English expedition against Mergui in 1687, but he was never hampered by the presence of military commanders or of independent political Agents sent out from home to work beside him instead of under his orders, as was the case with the French.

Unified control of commerce and politics in the East was achieved with the greatest success by the Dutch in Batavia, who though they were not individually superior to their English and French rivals in the East, and though like them they were not independent of their masters in Europe, nevertheless received from the latter that ungrudging confidence and unfailing support which was the secret of the preeminence they won during the xviiith century.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

(2) A.C., G^o 63, f^o 14 : a letter of the 10th of January 1682 in which the trader Roques warns the Company against listening to the advice of Missionaries who press for the foundation of Agencies for their own convenience without reference to their prospects of success.

(3) A.M., t. IV ; a letter from Delagny to Martin, dated 28th September, 1698, says : "Il est bon de retirer Vêret. C'est un misérable badaud plein de "petites passions."

(4) See *An Essay on the East India Trade; its importance to this Kingdom; with a comparative view of the Dutch, French and English Companies* London, 1770.

I

NOVAS DO REYNO DE SIAM.

[Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, Man.^o 465, fl. 186].

Por m.^{tas} vias repetiam novas de El Rey de Sião mandar mattar por traidor o Grego Constantino Falcão a quem El Rey de França proxímanamente tinha mandado o título de Duque mas, nada acabavamos de dar intr.^o credito por nos faltarem cartas, e testemunho dos nossos Portuguezes, ate q no mez de Agosto deste prez.^{te} anno de 1688, chegou a Macao hum F.^o Frr.^a morador desta cid.^e q de Sião partio p.^a costa em janr.^o deste mesmo anno, e da costa veyo a esta cid.^e o q.¹ refere partirão de França 5 Naos para Sião.

Destas chegarão quatro em que vinhão P. P. da comp.^a e 800 homens dos q.^{es} na viagem morrerão 300 dos 500 q chegarão vivos pos o Grego em hũa fortaleza chamada Bancò, 200 com 3 P. P. da Comp.^a cada dia morrião 2, e tres p.^r destemperança no comer de lanhas, e beber de urraca, pello q dezião mal da Terra, e de quem os mandara, fugindo m.^{tas} delles e outros roubando e fazendo m.^{tas} insultos aos naturaes comque provocarão ao seu Talapui mayor, q corresponde ao nosso Papa, ajuntar outros muytos Talapuis, e ir se queixar ao Rey das insolencias dos Francezes, neste estado deixou este humê as cousas de Sião no tem. q.^o partio delle.

Em septembro chegou a cantão humma soma de Siam q partio do porto de Pipuli em que vierão varias cartas de alguns moradores desta cid.^e assistentes em Sião, os q.^{es} razão morrer El Rey de Sião de pessoa q lhe dera seu crioulo chamado o Pra Pitirachai por ver q perdia o Reyno por não querer ouvir as queixas, e brados que o povo lhe dava contra o Grego. Este o Pra Pitirachai he o Rey q matou os 2. Principes, geuro e sobrinho do Rey defuncto. Prendeo logo o Grego dando lhe tratos até confesar q todos os Francezes e xptãos estavam confederados com elle para se levantar com o Reyno, e com esta confissão lhe mandou cortar a cabeça, e feittos em quartos, o lançarão aos caens, achouse fanado com seras lettras no braço que se não poderão ler. Mattarão lhe tão bem seus filhos. A molher, e sogra ficão captivas de El Rey com continuos tratos q lhe dam p.^a q confessem o q sabem. Os mais parentes prezados por traydores, e as fazendas confiscadas. Tinha o Grego minada a terra desde sua caza até o Palacio, esperando occaziam para

fazer voar. Achando em sua caza muytas armas, pólvora, mantim.^{tos} e myl pares de machos.

Trezentos Francezes q assistião na fortaleza de Bancò com a nova da morte do traydor Grego fizerão alguns assaltos nas aldeas dos Sioens, porem os Sioes os forão perseguindo ate os fazer retirar a fortaleza, avendo de hũa e outra parte mortes. E puzerão nos em tal aperto, que aos 15 de Julho deste anno de 1688. botarão bandr.^a branca pedindo por meyo do Bispo Francez Naos pera se irem. Alguns dizem q lhos concederão. O coll.^o do Bispo esta feito pagode, e os xpãos naturaes deste oriente q o Bispo tinha, forão prezos, obrigando-os o Rey a q serão gentios.

O Rey chamou ay Portuguezes p.^a lhe defenderem a Cid.^o e seu Palacio. A outros mandou p.^a a Barra a estacar o Rio e segurar a entrada da armada Franceza q o Grego confeson avia de vir este anno m.^{to} mayor q a do anno passado.

Pedio o Rey aos capitães dos barcos estrangeiros q estavam no porto lhe defendessem o Rio. Os cap.^{ães} dos nosos 2. Barcos de Macao lhe offerecerão os barcos, e suas pessoas a seu serviço. Aceitou o Rey o offerecim.^{to} e em sinal de agradecim.^{to} deu, e vestio de sua propria mão hũas casacas á Andre Gomez, Gp.^{te} Francò, Fran.^{co} Ferreira, e outros Portuguezes, prometendo remunerar a acção concluyda. E ficam nossos barcos, com suas galez guarneecendo o Rio.

Mandou o Rey arrecadar todos os papeis do Grego p.^a por elles descobrir os confederados na traição, e p.^a isso prendeo os R.P. Fr.P.^o Martyr religioso de S.Dg.^{os} que por ser secretario do Grego, o estão martirizando com tratos, e fica com quatro prizoens. Por doente escapou dos tratos o R.P.Fr. Estevão de Souza Religioso do S. Agust.^o p.^a q tão bem era 2.^o secretario do Grego. O R. P. João Baptista Maldonado Flamengo da Comp.^a de Jesus, escapou de ser avexado p.^a dizer q era Portuguez. Os clérigos Francezes não pasão bem. 20 Francezes com hum P.^a da comp.^a Francez q vinham da fortaleza de Bancò em hũa chalupa forão mortos.

Quis o Rey mandar a esta cid.^o hũa fragatta com Portuguezes por temer, q se baldiassem com os Francezes.

Na fortaleza de Tanecery deram os Sioens de repente, e degollarão pasante de 100 pessoas em q entrarão Francezes, Inglezes, e outros xpãos: fugindo quarenta Francezes em hum barco pello rio fora. Affirmam as cartas q não tornarão os Francezes a por pé em Siam,

mas q tão bem a christand.^a esta accabada. A propaganda se pode dar tão bem p.^r accabada por que Siam era todo seu Assilo, onde assistiam os Bispos, e por onde se carteava, e metia seus missionarios, e subsidios nas missoens da China, Tum Kym e Cochichina. Agora não tem ja p.^r onde os introduzir, senão por Macao, ou por meyo dos portuguezes. Os intentos de França tão bem se frustrarão porque não tem outro conto, nem nenhum Rey com este successo os admitiria.

As consequencias desta faççam, sam todas fataes: por q soando por todos estes reynos, q os Europeos (q p.^r poucos sam os q saibam distinguir Portuguezes de Francezes) que com capa de propagar a fé, se quizerão levantar com o reyno de Siam, lançarão a todos os missionarios, e Europeus de seus Reynos; e lhe fecharão todos os portos como fez Japam, presumindo de q nos façamos o q os Francezes fizerão em Siam. Asym q estão muy arriscados todos os missionarios não só Francezes, se não ainda os Portuguezes, e mays Europeus o serem lançados fora da China Tunkym, e Cochichina, e mays reynos com perdas de todas as christand.^{es} o q Deos não permitta. Isto mesmo tem em os Portuguezes de Siam; q concluyda a guerra dos Francezes os matem ou os lancem tão bem a elles fora. O q não tem feito em q.^{to} depende delles contra os Francezes.

CRITICAL REMARKS.

This account of the ruin of French enterprise in Siam was written at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, summarising the contents of letters brought to the neighbouring town of Canton in September 1688 by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi (Pipuli) after the death of King Pra Narai in the summer of 1688.

The writer was a Portuguese whose countrymen in the xvith century were bitterly opposed to the French Missionaries, because from the year 1660 onwards they had disregarded the ancient claim made by Portugal to the supervision of Christian enterprise in all countries eastward of a line drawn from the poles through the Azores. Bishop Pallu, the Apostolic Vicar and founder of the French Foreign Mission, supported by the approval of Louis XIV, obtained in 1669 from the Pope an edict which explained that Rome only recognised the pretensions of Portugal in places subject to Portuguese sovereignty. Later, in 1680, Rome insisted that an Oath of Allegiance be administered to all clergy residing under the jurisdiction of

the Apostolic Vicars; and since the latter were members of the French Foreign Mission, the Oath was a source of grievance both to the Portuguese and to other Missionary organisations, such as Jesuits and Dominicans. The former succeeded ultimately in alienating the sympathy of Louis XIV from the Foreign Mission by representing that the Oath was inconsistent with that King's sovereign rights.⁽¹⁾ The hostile references of the writer to French Missionaries and to their countrymen in general are therefore more easily accounted for than his inaccuracies of fact.

The ships reported to have sailed from France in 1687 were actually six not five in number, the three warships *Oiseau*, *Gaillard*, *Maligue*, and the three flûtes *Dromadaire*, *Loire*, *Normandie*, carrying 636 officers and men under General Desfarges. 492 survivors reached Siam where they were split up between Bangkok and Mergui etc.⁽²⁾

The lack of discipline in the garrison at Bangkok was the subject of comment in the letters of Fr. Tachard, who contrasted it with the strict standard required of his escort by Chevalier de Chaumont.⁽³⁾

P'ra P'et Racha (Pitra Chai) was an influential nobleman who had command of the state elephants. He headed the national party of Siamese jealous of Phaulkon's influence over P'ra Narai and over his adopted son P'ra P'i. In May 1688 P'ra P'et assumed power by force, arrested Phaulkon, assassinated P'ra P'i, and, after the execution of Phaulkon and death of P'ra Narai, the two surviving brothers of P'ra Narai. There is no clear evidence that he poisoned P'ra Narai. The King's son-in-law and nephew mentioned in the narrative are presumably to be identified with P'ra P'i and/or the King's brothers.

George Phaulkon survived his Father until 1709, and had issue.⁽⁴⁾ He was the only recorded child of Constantine Phaulkon. In November 1688 the widow was free to come to Bangkok and importune Defarges for a passage to France.

According to the writer of *Relation des Révolutions* the number of French soldiers actually besieged in Bangkok was 200 not 300. The statement that they sent the Bishop with a flag of truce is incorrect. The Bishop was outside the fortress with the Siamese, and utilised by them to conduct negotiations with the besieged garrison. It was

(1) v. Pinot, *op. cit.*, p. 31; also JSS, vol XXVI, part 1.

(2) A. M., B³, n^o 61, f^o 175; also B⁴ n^o II, f^o 504; A. C., tome 2.

(3) A. M., Lettres du P. Tachard.

(4) M. E., Mémoires du P. Aumont.

only after the departure of the garrison and violation of the terms of withdrawal that the Bishop and Missionaries were imprisoned or their buildings sacked, i. e. some months after the sailing of the ship which brought the news on which this inaccurate account is based.

If Peter Martyr was imprisoned at the time of Phaulkon's fall he certainly was at large some months afterwards, for his insubordinate exploits are recounted in Bishop Laneau's letter.

du Bruant, with his garrison of 125 men at Mergui, the port of Tenasserim, defended himself against the attacks of the Siamese until his water supply was cut off. Having retained access to the sea, he seized the ship *Merguy* and prepared to retire from the country. He lost 20 men in a panic which occurred during the embarkation, but his worst troubles came later. The South-West Monsoon drove him on to the coast of Burma where he was refused asylum by the inhabitants. Off the Arracan coast he fell in with a French ship, but was taken prisoner together with it by the English at Balasor, and his 30 survivors only reached Pondichéri on the 15th of January 1689, two weeks ahead of Desfarges.⁽¹⁾

The reference to a massacre of English and other Europeans after the departure of the French from Mergui is probably an echo of what actually occurred there in July 1687, during the attempted occupation of that town by Captain Weltden with two English warships. About 33 Englishmen and 20 Portuguese are estimated to have lost their lives in a midnight affray which ended in Weltden's retirement.⁽²⁾

The power and the vindictiveness of Siam in 1688 appear to be overrated in this letter. Doubtless on its arrival in Siam Desfarges' force offered a sorry spectacle, being decimated by illness after a long voyage. Its poor discipline and the insubordination of its Officers may have created a false impression regarding the relative power of Siam and France as seen by Portuguese bred in Siam. Rosa Pan, who had been in France, suffered under no such illusion, as his letters show.

⁽¹⁾ v. Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-264, who quotes *Mémoires de Martin*, pp. 458-469.

⁽²⁾ *Records of the Relations etc.*, vol. V, ii, p. 25.

II

PROPAGANDA FEDE-ROME, SCRITTURE REFERITE, VOL. 5, NO. 104.⁽¹⁾

Siam, 26/11/88.

Lugubrem tragediam in hoc Siamensi Theatro exhibitam et nuper S. V. a me missam prosequor modo usque ad catastrophem, ut tandem cognoscatur qua cautela inter ethicos ad fidem Christi disseminandam utendum sit.

Abeuntibus hinc Gallis praesidiariis, simul D. Abbas de Lionne, Rosalie Episcopus nominatus et VIII circiter clerici, XI Patres nostri abierunt, uno hic remanente.

Pacificae hic exitus utrimque licet admodum caute, datis hinc inde ad omnem securitatem obsidibus, tractabatur; sed nescio quid dolus omne in fine corrumpit.

Obsides Galli ad naves solerter se receperunt, retentis nihilominus ibidem et postea abductis Siamensium obsidibus Mandarinis. Fraudem subodorati Siamenses in Gallos furere ceperunt. Ex eis aliquot fere 40 scaphas ad naves deducebant necdum e portu egressi; in hos furor descevit vincula, plagas, improprias, insultationes in eos ad omnem ignominiam coniectas.

Tum ut haec notitia ad novum Regem pervenit, statim clerici omnes Galli cum suis discipulis et noster etiam pater La Breuille ad tribunal acciti post in carcerem detrusi, exceptis minoribus scholasticis; ubi per aliquot dies cippum, catenas, compedes, aliaque vinculorum genera experti, nunc etiam sed a vinculis fere soluti tenentur.

Interdum bona omnia Seminarii et supellex qua sacra qua profana in Libros fuit relata et quasi fisco addicta aperiuntur, Talapoïs seu bonzïs et templi dominium adeptis.

Quod sane ægre ferendum, sed ægrius et ægerrimum quod dicam. Ipsi Ill^{mo} et Rev^{mo} D. Episcopo Metellopolitano injecta ad collum catena cum cippo ligneo, quod cuidam Mandarinio licet inimico tam ignominiosum visum est ut cippum auferri jusserit, relicta interim ad collum catena, qua vinctus ad urbem ab ostio fluminis a Siamensibus ludibundis prope palatium adducitur, ubi sub tuguribus velut ad ludibrium expositus solitarie custoditur, prohibito ad eum accessu.

Interim per quemdam clericum, qui ad procurandam captivis alimoniam libertate fuit donatus, Illm^o D^o humillima mea obsequia

⁽¹⁾ Fragment of a letter from Fr. Maldonato S. J. to the Pope. The preceding letter, to which reference is made in the first paragraph, has not been found, nor yet the original of which this fragment is a copy.

offeri curo. Uno gravioribus quibusdam Lusitanis proposui, Christianae caritatis illustre specimen futurum, si pro Episcopo tante dignitatis viro intercederent; quod facturos spero, si intercessioni futurus sit locus, hoc praesertim indignationis tempore, dum omnia quae Gallos spectant Siamensibus suspicionis, odii, prodicionis materiam praebere videntur.

Terribilem persecutionem hic et alibi ne oriatur admodum vereor. Rex novus ad causae suae justitiam declarandam undequaque Litteras spargit contra Gallos. Unde illius Nationis Missionarii in grave periculum et Missiones omnes adducuntur, cum ab odio nationis facile ad odium Legis fiat progressio, uti hic experimur, indigenis qui fidem susceperunt iam varie vexatis et nonnullis ad idolatriam dilapsis.

De hac Residentia quid futurum sit nescio: aedificia quasdam ostentat a D. Constantino nostro intimo fautore erecta, quae sine dubio Siamensium bilem provocant.

Semel ad tribunal fui evocatus et parum abfuit quin tum caperer propter fugam viduae D. Constantini, quae sibi metuens, ad Libertatem, pudorem, vitamque tuendam una cum filiolo ad arcem Gallorum se receperat, patrocinio Christianissimi Regis protegenda, cujus Litteras varias de Falconia familia sub Regium patrocinium assumpta secum ad Ducem Gallicum deferebat; sed illa pessime fuit accepta. Patres nostri veluti fugae autores ab ipso Duce apud Siamenses fuere accusati, licet falso et admodum temere, cum nostri prius illi Dominae periculum rejectionis quam contigit aperuissent. Ceterum quamdiu illa mulier in potestate Gallorum fuit, tamdiu clerici omnes et noster Pater La Brouille in custodia tenebantur, et nisi Siamensibus Lusitani interpretes notum fecissent, me negotiis Gallicis nulli modo esse implicitum, haud dubie cum aliis detinebar. Interim, ubi Dux Dominam illam ex arce demisit in Siamensium manus, quod omnes nationes admodum reprobavere,—sacerdotes omnes e custodia dimisi sunt....

(Translation)

SCRIPTA REFERITA, Vol V, No. 104.

PROPAGANDA FIDEL.

FATHER MALDONATO S. J. TO GENERAL OF JESUIT ORDER.

Siam, the 26th November 1688.

I now continue the account which I recently sent to Your Holiness of the sad tragedy enacted in Siam, trusting that it will at last prove

how great are the precautions needed in spreading the faith of Christ among the heathen.

The Bishop Elect of Rosalie, Lord Abbot de Lionne, with about eight clerics and eleven of our Fathers, departed with the retiring French garrison, leaving only one Father behind.

Hostages had been exchanged in the interest of security, and the retirement was being effected without hostilities on either side though with some circumspection, when I know not what shift finally ruined everything. The French hostages quietly betook themselves back to their ships, while the Siamese Officials who were still held as hostages by the French were ultimately carried off by them.

The Siamese no sooner suspected treachery than they began to rage against the French:— some forty of their barges were on their way to join the ships, but were still in the river. The rage of the Siamese found vent in imprisonment, blows, defilement; and every form of insult and indignity which was levelled against the French.

When the news of it came to the ears of the new Monarch, straightway all the French clergy and their converts, together with our Father La Brenille were haled into court and thence plunged into jail, only the younger pupils being spared. There for several days they suffered the "cangue", handcuffs, chains, and every other form of constraint; and there they are still confined, though no longer in chains.

Meanwhile, all the property of the Seminary, including Church and other furniture, was inventoried, and confiscated for the Treasury, Talapoins or Bonzes being put in control of the Church.

This was hard to bear in all truth, but what was harder still, nay hardest of all, has yet to be told. Fetters and a wooden "cangue" were loaded on the neck of the Honourable and Reverend Lord Bishop of Metellopolis. This appeared so unworthy in the eyes of a certain Official, who is no friend of ours, that he gave orders for their removal, leaving only a neck-chain with which the Bishop was bound and led by the enraged Siamese from the river's mouth to the Capital, where he was exposed and then imprisoned in a hut to which all access was forbidden and there exposed to the mocking crowd.

Meanwhile, through the agency of a cleric who has been given his freedom in order that he may beg sustenance for the prisoners, I am offering my humble duty to His Lordship, and I have suggested to

the more responsible of the Portuguese that intercession on their part for the worthy Bishop would constitute a signal example of Christian Charity. I trust they will do so, if there is any opportunity for mediation at the present time when everything affecting the French appears to offer the Siamese material for suspicion, hatred and treachery.

I have reason to fear that a dreadful persecution will rage both here and elsewhere. The new King, to justify his actions, has despatched letters far and wide directed against the French; hence Missionaries of that nation, and indeed all Missionaries, are in grave peril, since it is but a step from hatred of the foreigner to contempt of the law, as we are finding here, where native proselytes are so persecuted that not a few have slipped back into idolatry.

I do not know what will become of this Residency. The sight of certain buildings erected by Lord Constant, our firm supporter, is doubtless provocative to the Siamese.

I once received a summons and was nearly arrested in the matter of the escape of Lord Constant's widow who fearing for her person, and to protect her life, liberty and virtue, betook herself with her young son to the French Fort. She brought with her certain letters promising the patronage of the Most Christian King for the Phaulkon family, and on the strength of them she claimed the protection of the French King.

She met however with a very cold reception from the French General, who in his negotiations with the Siamese charged our Fathers with instigating her escape, unjustly indeed and rashly, since they had previously warned her of the imminent danger of a rebuff. Nevertheless, as long as that lady remained with the French, so long were all our clerics and our Father La Breuille held in confinement; and if the Portuguese had not made known to the Siamese that I was in no way concerned with the French business, there is no doubt that I should have been imprisoned with the rest.

Meanwhile, when the General had expelled that Lady from the Fort and delivered her over to the Siamese (thereby incurring the censure of every nationality) all the Priests were released.

III

PROPAGANDA FEDE, SCRITTURE REFERITE, V, No. 195.

Siam, 23rd Nov. 1689.

From Bishop of Metellopolis to Sacred College.

Furtim e carcere scribo ad E. V. quamvis plurimum dubitem num ad illarum manus hæc perventura sit epistola, unde et utor papyra sinensi ut facilius abscondi possit; et omissis fere omnibus quæ scribenda forent, de præsentī tantummodo statu in quo degimus certiores faciam E. V.

Tertius decimus abhinc mensis est ex quo sumus in carcere, ejecti ex ædibus nostris, rebus omnibus spoliati, et eleemosynis vitam utrumque sustinentes, non pauca equidem quæ indigenarum usibus minus erant idonea nobis relicta fuerant, et his servandis duo ex nostris liberi⁽¹⁾ dimissi. At paucis abhinc diebus igni consumpta sunt hæc omnia, sic disponente Domino per infinitum amorem suum, ut simus sine pera, sine sacculo, sine calceamentis, utinam sic et aptiores efficiamur ad prædicandum evangelium regni.

Deus tamen, qui non deficit in necessariis, providit quod unus e nostris Doc. M. Stephanus Paumard eo quod regi defuncto medicamenta ministrasset, et ita sibi maiorem benevolentiam conciliasset, quasi pro remuneratione plenam haberet quæcumque vellet faciendi et cundi facultatem. Hic fere unus est qui incarcerationis omnibus parat, quia ne granum quidem orizæ illis datur; reliqui omnes missionarii una cum Patre de la Breuille e Soc: Jesu probatæ virtutis viro, maxime cum alumnorum collegii (quod destructum est) parte, cum multis aliis secularibus in vinculis sunt: et quantas toto hoc tempore passi sint tribulationes incommoda, opprobria ac molestias referire non possum, quia carcer ille inter totius mundi carceres est durissimus ad perferendum: mihi vero utpote tantæ palestræ non idoneo, longe levior assignatus est, nisi primis mensibus, nec infernales ut reliqui penas sustinui.

Indigenæ, qui Catholicam susceperant fidem, bonis omnibus spoliati sunt, et in captivitatem reducti simul cum aliis aliquot externis: hoc maxime me movet quod alumni seminarii per diversa sint dispersi loca: indigenæ in captivitatem pariter venerunt gentilium: pauci, qui ratione morborum, qui tum grassabantur, remanserunt cum duobus illis missionariis ad servandas sarcinas,

(1) The word "liberi" is repeated in the original.

studia ut possunt continuant—quod et agunt alii qui sunt in carcere cum magistris adeo ut a pristino fervore suo inter tot aerumnas nondum videantur interfuisse.

Hinc spero, quod si Deus libertatem dederit, ad priora magno cum ardore reversuri sint exercitia.

Et re vera, hæc incarcerationio illis pro novitiatu omnium præstantissimo futura est. Hoc enim cum bona venia E. V., quibus totius orbis missionum cura commissa est, dixerim quod ad perficiendos missionarios et ad rite disponendos in munere vero apostolico nihil aptius est, meo quidem iudicio, quam majores hujusmodi et extraordinariæ tribulationes.

Inexpertus vix potest credere quantis a Domino gratiis celestibus tum donentur, et quam evidenter doceantur alteriora vite Apostolicæ secreta, ut toti post modum ex Deo pendeant: et quidem secundum id, quod deforis est, jam experientia didicimus posse vitam sustineri absque pecunia, non quidem in deliciis, sed cum oriza et piscibus exsiccatis—quod antea videbatur impossibile.

Cum Lusitanis aliquanto mitius actum est propter politicas quasdam rationes, quanquam varias et ipsi identidem passi sint molestias; sed utinam religiosi, qui illorum in campo degunt, ista—prout decebat—bene usi essent indulgentia. Sed res in contrarium recidit.

De patribus Soc: Jesu non loquor. Hi enim erga Sanctam Sedem obsequantissimi semper extiterunt, uti et tres seculares, ex quibus duos ordinavi et qui in ecclesia illorum sacra semper faciunt,—sed non ita in ecclesia Dominicorum. Illic sunt quinque Sacerdotes, omnes censura innodati—tres Dominicani, unus Augustinianus, et unus sacerdos sæcularis, Pater Petrus Martyr parochi officio fungitur; ille juramentum faciebat in manibus meis, sed post hæc bene gestorum poenitens, aliquando negat dictum juramentum se præstitisse; alias vero fatetur fecisse quidem sed per metum. Jam scripsi ad E. V. me sacerdotem illum, prius a me suspensum, excommunicari nominatim; sed non potuisse eandem excommunicationis sententiam contra reliquos proferre propter illos videlicet tumultus, qui tunc temporis contingerent,—ideoque in suspensione et poenis quæ ex violata suspensione incurruntur permansisse; volueram enim illorum obsequium tentare per suspensionem antequam ad excommunicationem venire. Jam vero predictus P. Petrus Martyr illos omnes ad sacramenta admittit, quin et vices suas parochi dicto sacerdoti excommunicato et omnium ignorantissimo committit. Quod autem

contrariam sequantur agendi rationem Patres Soc: Jesu hinc gravissimam ab aliis perferunt persecutionem, et quod noluerint sacerdotem illum admittere intra ecclesiam ad legendum nescioquid, ideo aliquis Dominicanus, qui commissarium Sanctæ Inquisitionis se appellat, contra illos uti infractores Sanctæ Inquisitionis dicitur processus facere.

Cum Pater Ludovicus a Matre Dei recens venisset a Tenasserim et adhuc esset in cymba, vita frustus est, ad illum sepeliendum venerunt Patres Soc: Jesu meo nomine rogati, sed P. Augustinianus nomine Stephanus tantum excitatur rumorum adversus illos qui defuncti corpus ad dictorum Patrum Soc: ecclesiam volebant deferre, et talia dixit adversus Sanctam Sedem maximo cum adstantium scandalo ut Superior Patrum Soc: Jesu coactus est cedere: alioquin veniendum erat ad pugnos et verbera, Pater enim ille Augustinianus potius militis personam referat quam religiosi viri.

Sed hæc aliaque innumeraque E. V. referre superfluum est, necque illum quod apponi possit remedium ego video quominus enim ipsamet Sancta Sedes nominatim erga illos excommunicationem proferit.⁽¹⁾

Porro Rex Cocineus bene affectus est erga Christianos: duobus hisce posterioribus annis litteras ad me et munera miserat, quas Mandarinum, cum sibi fecissent per interpretes explicari, vidissentque nimis honorifice de Christiana religione loqui et nimias mihi laudes dicere, noluerunt illas mihi reddi.

Soli Patres Soc: Jesu pro nobis stant, librosque nostros et plura ecclesiæ ornamenta apud se servaverunt. Vix illa sola sunt quæ vim ignis effugere. Multas illis habemus gratias, sed his temporibus vix quidquam possunt.

Cæterum E. V. supplex obtestor velint meminisse huiusce Missionis desolationæ, quia vere manus Dei tetigit nos et omnia illius ecclesiæ, et fluctus super nos transierunt adeo ut tædet vivere, beatosque reputamus illos quos citius ex hac vita vis ærumnarum eripit. Facti sumus in canticum populo; sed quid conquerar de nobis, cum et ipsa religio ac DEUS ipse J. CHRISTUS versus sit pariter in canticum? Haud scio utrum ad destructionem vel emendationem hæc omnia induxerit super nos DEUS, sed quicquid sit, rogo E. V. sibi persuadeant quod seu in vita seu in morte ab obsequio Sanctæ Sedis et Sacræ

(1) Marginal Note: (Pro Patribus illis Dominicanis et Augustinianis ad mentem revocandis hoc unum superest remedium, quod ad E. V. jam pridem scripsi sed nondum responsum accepti, ut scilicet expellantur ex religione sua per Generales suos, nec fiat ulla mentio de imperio Sanctæ Sedis.)

Congregationis (quidquid adversum hos possit objici, aut in suspicionem vocari), numquam Deo dante esse discessuros.

Quod si quid per errorem aut inscientiam a me gestum est, seu a sociis et patribus, summo mihi solatio foret, si ante mortem— licet illa jam forte sit in januis— veniam a S. S. indultam esse cognoscerem, quoniam ad summum Pontificem non licet scribere.

Supplex E. V. obtestor ut apostolicam benedictionem pro me, pro omnibus fratribus meis, pro alumnis aliisque fidelibus et conceptivis nostris, qui in vinculis sunt, impetrent.

E. V. hum : et oblig : servus

LUDOVICUS Epūs Metellopolitanus Vic Apl :

Siam.

(Translation)

PROPAGANDA FEDE. SCRITTURE REFERITE V. 195.

BISHOP LANNEAU TO THE SACRED COLLEGE.

Siam, the 23rd November, 1689.

Your Eminences,

A prisoner and in stealth I write this letter, much doubting whether it will reach Your Eminences. Hence, I write on Chinese paper which may be more easily concealed if only to acquaint Your Eminences of the circumstances under which we now live, omitting almost all else about which I should write.

For thirteen months we have now been in jail, cast out from our homes, stripped of all our possessions, and subsisting on charity for our mutual support.

No small store of goods, useless to the natives, was left to us; and to administer this store, two of our band were given their freedom. But a few days since, all this store was destroyed by fire, the Lord in his infinite tenderness disposing that without scrip, purse or sandals we should thus be better fitted to preach the Gospel of his Kingdom.

Yet God, who fails not in adversity, has ordained that one of our number, Doctor M. Stephen Paumard should have full liberty to go and act for us, in return for the good-will he gained in administering simples to the late King.

He is almost the sole provider for all the prisoners, since not even a grain of rice is supplied to them. All the Missionaries are in chains,

together with that Jesuit of proved worth Father de la Breuille, the major portion of the students, whose college has been destroyed, also many other secular Christians.

The troubles, insults, and persecutions which they have borne all this time are too numerous for me to record, since of all this world's cruel prisons their prison is the most intolerable. I indeed, save in the first months, have been spared their diabolical torments and have been given a lighter yoke: may be I was accounted too weak to bear so great hardship.

The native converts to the Catholic Faith are robbed of all their goods and deprived of their liberty, together with sundry other foreigners.

I am much worried that the Seminary pupils should be scattered in diverse places; the native pupils have likewise fallen into the hands of the gentiles. A few only, who by reason of their ill-health have remained with those two Missionaries deputed to guard the Stores, carry on their studies as best they can, as do also the rest who are in jail with their teachers, and show no less zeal than of old, in spite of their great affliction. This fact gives me reason to hope that if by God's grace they are set free, they may return to their original studies with increased ardour.

In truth, this imprisonment will serve as an incomparable novitiate. For I would beg leave of Your Eminences, the trustees of all Missions on this globe, to state that in my humble opinion no Missionary training can equal these exceptionally heavy afflictions as discipline in the Apostolic duties.

The Heavenly Grace with which they are endowed must be seen to be believed; as also the manifestation of that profound mystery in the Evangelist's life—his complete dependence upon God's will. Indeed, from actual experience we now know that life can be maintained without money,—not of course in luxury, but with rice and dried fish,—a fact which before would have seemed impossible.

For certain political reasons the Portuguese have been more lightly treated, though even they too have suffered sundry persecution. I wish that the Fathers residing in their camp had made seemly use of their liberty; but the contrary is the case.

I say nothing of the Jesuit Fathers: they have always excelled in obedience to the Holy See, as have the three secular priests, two of whom I ordained, who officiate in their church. But in the Domini-

cans' church it is otherwise, where there are five priests all under censure, three Dominicans, one Augustinian and one secular.

Fr. Peter Martyr acts as parish priest. The oath was administered to him by me, but later on he repented of his submission, and now sometimes denies that he took the Oath; at other times he says that he was intimidated into taking it.

I have written to Your Eminences that I first suspended that priest and then excommunicated him, but was prevented by reason of the troubles of that time from giving effect to a similar sentence of excommunication against the others, and that they therefore remained under suspense and under the penalties incurred for violating it; for I desired to test their obedience by suspending them before proceeding to excommunication.

The aforesaid Peter Martyr now admits all of them to the sacraments, and even entrusts his parish duties to these excommunicated and most ignorant priests. The Jesuit Fathers, who follow a different course, are subjected to a severe persecution by the others, and because they refused to admit that priest to their church to read something or other, a Dominican, calling himself a Commissar of the Holy Inquisition, is actually said to be proceeding against them for offences against the Holy Inquisition.

When Father Louis of the Mother of God came lately from Tenasserim and died while still in his boat, I summoned the Jesuit Fathers to bury him, but one of the Augustinian Fathers named Stephen raised such outcry against them when they would bring the remains into the Jesuit church, and uttered such words against the Holy See to the scandal of those present, that the Jesuit Superior was forced to give way, else would they have come to blows and stripes, for that Augustinian Father has more the likeness of a man of war than of a man of God.

But reference to these and other events is superfluous, nor do I see what remedy can be found other than individual excommunication by the Holy See.⁽¹⁾

The King of Cochin China is well disposed towards the Church.

(1) Marginal Note: In the matter of those Dominicans and Augustinians, there is one remedy that remains, as I have previously suggested to Your Eminences though I have not yet received reply:—it is that they should be expelled from their Orders by their own General, avoiding all mention of the authority of the Holy See.

In the past two years he has sent me gifts and letters which when transmitted were considered by the Siamese Officials to be too favourable to the Christian religion and too flattering to me. On that account they were unwilling that I should have them.

The Jesuit Fathers, who are our only champions here, have preserved our books and many church ornaments in their abode—these were all that escaped the fire—and we owe them much gratitude, though at the present time they can hardly effect anything for us.

However, I adjure Your Eminences to bear in mind the poverty of this Mission; for of a truth the hand of God is heavy upon us and upon all pertaining to the church in Siam. The flood has so overwhelmed us that life is a burden, and we reckon those happy who have been bereft of life before us through the intensity of their suffering.

We have been made the subject of ribald songs; but why should we complain, when even our Faith and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ himself is treated likewise?

I know not whether God had brought all this upon us to the end that He may improve us. Be that as it may, I beg Your Eminences to rest assured that never by God's grace will we alive or dead ever depart from our duty to the Holy See or to the Sacred College, no matter what our enemies may cast in our teeth or bring into suspicion.

But since I may be at the very gate of death and may not write to the Supreme Pontiff, if aught has been done in ignorance by me or my fellow-workers and Fathers, it would be a priceless consolation to know that pardon has been granted by the Holy See.⁽¹⁾

On my knees I adjure Your Eminences to invoke the Apostolic Benediction for me, for all my bretheren, for our pupils, and for the the other believers and fellow-workers.

Your Eminences' most humble
and obliged servant,

LOUIS, Bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Siam.

(1) The Bishop's assurance of his loyalty to the Sacred College was occasioned by a rebuke he had received from Rome for lack of zeal in administering the "Oath" to recalcitrant clergy in his See. His position was very delicate, since the terms of the Oath had been drawn up in Rome to re enforce his authority, but they caused offense to his sovereign, Louis XIV. The Bishop was thus faced with the dilemma of reconciling the conflicting claims of the Pope and of Louis XIV to appoint Missionaries.

IV

QUAI D'ORSAY.

Mémoires et documents, Vol II, No. 90.

PHAULKON'S WIDOW TO THE FRENCH BISHOP IN CHINA.

Excellentissime Domine,

Cum Sinarum scaphis bonus odor famæ Exc:Væ Littoribus istis accessit, nec minus innatæ pietatis rumor et virtutis ardor ac misericordiæ inclinatio ad omnium præcipue ad meas aures pervenit, quæ quasi in vinculis, ut olim Johannes—si licet ita fari—audivi.

Unde illum imitans, ad Dominum Patriarchum, ut ad Messiam, epistolam mitto, et pace vestra interrogo. Tu es qui venturus est, an alium expectamus?

Ne quaeso miretur, Excellentissime Domine, quia mulier afflicta sum. Illa ego quæ quondam quasi domina gentium in hoc Siam emporio incedebar, e Rege excitata, a Principibus ac proceribus venerata, et ab harum provinciarum populis adorata, atque insuper—quod caput est—a Christianissimo Galliarum Rege et a sanctissimo Domino nostro felicis recordationis Innocentio XI in honorem ac munificentiam benignitate habita, eo quod non ego modo sed etiam conjux meus Constantinus tum Romanam fidem, tum omnes Missionarios Apostolicos summo amore prosequer, fovebam, adjuvabam, dirigebam, defendebam, et ad omnia eis necessaria prompta eram, quæ quidem nullus eorum, qui ex tunc usque modo vivit, inficiabitur.

At ubi est, ut aiebant, Missionariorum Mater? Illa ubi jacet? Ubi cubat in Meridie? Est in palatii vinculis in servitutine Regis assidua, in labore et mærore confecta, in vigiliis multis et in periculis exposita, in angustiis ac tenebris Lucem expectans. Jacet non in strato nobili, sed in cucinae Regis angulo. Cubat in humo gelida et in vigilantia domus.

Tantum rerum est hujus sæculi vicissitudo.

En cur mea querit epistola: cur mea querit epistola: tu es qui venturus est? Venturus es, Excellentissime Domine, venturus es ad istam Dei servam de Manibus orei liberandam? Venturus ne es, non jam ad Parentem Patrum sed humilissimam ancillam de tot miseriis sublevandam? Veni, Domine, jam et noli tardare. Nam ad tuum adventum istamet tristitia lætabitur, et pro comperto habeo quod tonabit vox vestra in auribus meis: "Jam hiems transit, imber abiit et recessit, surge, amica mea, et veni."

Interim quod Excellentia Vestra moram facit in Sina, suppliciter exoro, ut de necessitudine mea summum Pontificem certiore faciat, addatque ei ut caritatis litteras Christianissimo Regi scribere non dedignetur, ut mihi favere non desinat, in iubendo Regis Societatis Directoribus ut mihi pecunias a conjuge meo sibi commissas in hac rerum penuria reddant.

Incredibilis enim est mea filiique mei dura necessitas. Nam si nostras hic pecunias haberemus, qui viri mei Constantini legitimi tantum modo sumus heredes, absque dubio de tanta jam servitute libereremur, liberique ad Dei ecclesiam et non furtive, ut raro accidit, adiremus.

Similiter ergo Excellentiam Vestram flexis genibus enixem flagito ut etiam atque etiam Ludovico Magno Galliarum Regi conscribat, et erga illum pro nobis efficaciter intercedat.

Verum quidem est quod Christianissimus Rex a Patribus Societatis JESU suppliciter exoratus, et ideo inopias nostræ commiseratus, decreto jussit ut Societatis Regiæ Directores nobis quotannis millo nummos exsolverent. At tamen proh dolor. Post decretum illud benignissimi Regis dignum abhinc sex annis edictum solum duobus annis observatum est.

Omnia talia et alia multo majora de pietate vestra ac beneficentia propter amorem Dei facienda confidimus et expectamus.

Deus et Dominus noster JESU Christus felices Excellentie Vostre annos adaugeat, nobisque eandem servet incolumem ad majus Dei obsequium et animarum Salutem et Religionis augmentum et tandem ad nostri præsidium ac subsidium.

Siami, 20 Junii, anno a partu Virginis 1706.

Excellentiæ Vestræ Supplex Ancilla

Et Abjecta.

D. GUIMAR DE PINA.

(Translation)

QUAI D'ORSAY. MEMOIRS DOCUMENTS VOL. II. No. 90.

PHAULKON'S WIDOW TO THE FRENCH BISHOP IN CHINA.

My Lord Bishop,

The ships that come here from China have brought with them the sweet savour of Your Excellency's renown in that Land. The report of Your innate piety, Your ardent righteousness, and Your merciful disposition has reached the ears of all; and I too, who am almost a

captive like St. John of old—if I may compare myself with Him—have heard of it. Following His example, I write, My Lord Patriarch, to ask You, with Your leave, even as He asked the Messiah: “Art thou he who should come, or look we for another?”

Marvel not, My Lord Bishop, at my affliction. For I am She who in bygone days walked a Queen among the peoples in this mart of Ayudhia. I was singled out for favour by the King, respected by Princes and Chiefs and adored by the people of this land. Moreover, above all, I was the honoured recipient of favours and bounties from the most Christian King and from His Holiness the late Pope Innocent XI of blessed memory, particularly because both I and my husband Constantine, supported the Christian Faith and upheld the Apostolic Missionaries, cherishing, helping, directing and defending them, as no one of their number still living will deny.

But where is She now who was called the Mother of Missionaries? Where does she sleep, at night, and where is her abode by day? A captive in the Palace she toils in the service of the King, worn out with hard work and grief, in the darkness of her affliction looking over for a ray of light. At night she has no princely couch, but reposes in a corner of the Royal Kitchens; by day she lies upon the damp earth, whence she keeps watch over the house.

Such are the changes and chances of this age.

What then do I ask? What is the petition in this letter? Art thou He who should come? Art thou coming, My Lord Bishop, art thou coming to free the hand-maiden of the Lord from the Shades of Hell? Art thou coming to deliver from dire straits no father of the Prophets but a lowly serving woman?

Come quickly, My Lord, and tarry not; for at thy coming my sorrow will be turned into joy. I hear Your clarion-voice blasening in my ears “Winter is o’er, the storm is past and gone. Arise, my friend, My Lady, rise and come.”

Meanwhile, as Your Excellency still lingers in China, I humbly beg that the Holy Father be notified of my need. Furthermore, I beg that letters be written to the Most Christian King, to the effect that he cease not to show favour to me, ordering the Manager of the Royal Company to return to me in my need the monies committed to his care by my husband.

For the destitution of myself and of my son is past belief. Yet, if we now had the property which we should rightfully inherit from

my husband Constantine, there can be no doubt we should be free from bondage, and able openly to attend the Church of God at will, instead of seldom and in stealth, as at present.

Likewise, I beg and implore Your Excellency on bended knee to write again and again to LOUIS THE GREAT, King of the French, until effect to Your intercession on our behalf is obtained.

Indeed, the Most Christian King, when petitioned by the Jesuit Fathers, had pity for our needs, ordering the Managers of the Royal Company to pay us yearly one thousand ducats; but alas, that order so worthy of the generous Monarch, was made six years ago, but only for two years did it have effect.

All this and much more we look for and expect from Your pious generosity inspired by Your love of God.

May God and our Lord Jesus Christ add many happy years to Your Excellency's life, preserving you for us and keeping you safe for his greater Honour, for the good of souls, for the increase of the Faith, and lastly for the protection and assistance of ourselves.

At AYUDHIA, the 20th day of June in the year 1706 after the Virgin gave birth.

Your Excellency's lowly suppliant and servant,

D. GUIMAR DE PINA.⁽¹⁾

V

LETTER FROM P'YA KOSA TIBODI (KOSA PAN), FORMERLY SIAMESE AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE, TO MR. MARTIN, GOVERNOR OF PONDICHERRY, FR. DE BRISACIER, DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN MISSION SEMINARY PARIS, FR. DE LA CHAISSE S. J., PRIVATE CHAPLAIN TO LOUIS XIV.

These three letters are dated 27th December, 1693, and are identical, with the exception of the initial and final paragraphs.

The French version is filed at the Archives of the French Foreign in Paris: vol. 862, p. 677; vol. 863, pp. 273 and 81; vol. 880, p. 855.

The following is a free translation:—

You state that you have heard of the Revolution in Siam also of the sufferings of Bishop Lanneau and of all the Fathers, who though innocent had been robbed of their possessions, notwithstanding the never-failing support which they had always given without stint to the welfare of Siam.

⁽¹⁾ Written by another hand in Latin and signed by herself D. GUIMAR DE PINA, each letter of the signature being distinct.

You assume that this ill treatment, including their confinement after the withdrawal of the French troops, was done at the instigation of our Officials without the knowledge of our King.

Finally, you refer to the promise which I gave, when I was in France, to give my protection to His Lordship and to the Fathers, and express the hope that I will appeal to the King in order to obtain the restitution of all that has been taken from them.

I must confess that your attitude causes me much surprise, since it is not in harmony with the wise, prudent and sublime judgement displayed by His Majesty of France. He refused to give ear to a one-sided version of the facts, which is the only side he had then heard, and in spite of the accusations which it contained, he continued to lavish every imaginable kindness upon the two Siamese envoys who were then in France, and so gave a crowning proof for all time of the friendship of France with Siam.

His Siamese Majesty, as soon as he heard of it, made no secret of his approval of the broad-minded wisdom which first took cognisance of both good and bad reports, and then refused to give credence to one side only. This, in our King's eyes, accounts for the excellence of the Government enjoyed by the French people.

The judgement which you pass upon our Revolution is remarkable. You have only heard one side of the case which gives voice to the vexation suffered by the Bishop and his flock. This, I repeat, is at variance with the attitude of the King of France; it is also prejudicial to good relations between our two countries..... You are aware that the late King of Siam showed great favour to Constant Phaulkon, exalting him to high office and entrusting him in conjunction with the other officials with the administration of many affairs of state.

Phaulkon drew large sums in gold and silver from the Treasury which he spent according to his own good pleasure, and which are now unrecoverable. He also went so far as to harbour treasonable designs.

The Officials who were cognizant of this hesitated to speak until a proper opportunity should present itself, but they applied themselves to thwarting his plot.

Phaulkon realised that he was not trusted. He decided therefore to apply to the King of Siam to permit the despatch of M. de Beauregard to Mergui as Governor, and of M. du Bruant with 120 French soldiers, as Commander, to hold the Mergui fort.

Eventually, when the King fell ill, the knowledge of his own treachery began to cause Phaulkon much uneasiness. He then hit upon the expedient of sending a private summons to M. Desfarges for his troops, with the intention of safe-guarding himself and of putting his treacherous plans into execution. The General only came as far as Ayudhia. He then returned to Bangkok without disclosing his motives.

Phaulkon had been accused of conspiring with de Verdesalle, du Bruant and de Beauregard. It was the realisation that his plot was impractical which led him to despatch the two latter to Mergui, as stated above, the one as Governor, the other as Commander. This was disclosed to the present occupant of the Siamese throne when he caused Phaulkon to be arrested and put to the question. His answers then confirmed the charges brought against him.

It was decided thereupon to entice the General up to Lopburi. He, having heard nothing of Phaulkon's arrest, made no difficulty about coming. The motive for our confidential treatment of him was to prevent the French from spreading the alarm, since we feared that du Bruant and de Beauregard, who were in Phaulkon's confidence, might take fright and commit some unfriendly action.

We therefore represented to the General that we had news from the North of impending trouble, which made it necessary that his troops with du Bruant's should effect a junction with the Siamese army at a given spot—the army to be despatched to stem the enemy's advance. We reminded him of the orders he had received in France which placed him at the service of the King of Siam. He was then instructed to write to du Bruant, who was to carry out his plan on receipt of the letter.

Had they been innocent, they would not have failed to comply with the French King's instruction, and we should have told them to avoid unfriendly actions. As it was, du Bruant, on receipt of Desfarges' letter, made ready to fight. The Siamese officers were astounded, and took steps to defend themselves. The French opened fire with artillery and small arms and continued throughout the night, killing four officers and wounding several other people. The Siamese, who were apprehensive of exceeding their instructions, might have put up a stronger defence but they contented themselves with taking cover. Du Bruant and de Beauregard, seeing that the Siamese were out of

range, embarked 16 cannon and 50 rifles on one of the King's ships, seized an English ship in the harbour, and made off in them.

Desfarges was told of Phaulkon's plot with de Verdesalle and the Army Surgeon at Bangkok, and asked to send these men to Lopburi, where they would be warned to commit no unfriendly action. Desfarges replied that they were so obstinate that it would be useless to send for them, but offered to go in person to fetch them, leaving behind hostages at Lopburi in the persons of his two sons and of the officers who were then there.

We do not know what decision he came to with his staff after leaving Lopburi. We do know however that the French Officers arrested their Siamese and Portuguese colleagues, opened fire and, burnt the General's quarters near the Fort, blew up 13 cannon in the West Fort, spiking the remainder which they were unable to destroy, and transferring the arms and ammunition to the fort on the opposite side of the river.

The Siamese immediately invaded the abandoned fort. Desfarges seeing them, ordered his men to re-take it; but they, after fighting for some time, were compelled to withdraw to their fort on the east side of the river, and then proceeded to do much damage.

The King of Siam knew that the King of France was ignorant of what his troops were doing, and feared that if his men were to do their worst, it would be an end of all friendly relations. This accounts for the order given to the Siamese that they must content themselves with building covering-works round their own fort as a protection on the river and on the land sides, and prevent the French from making a sortie and doing damage.

The General's two sons and the Officers whom he had left at Lopburi as hostages, while out riding one day—as they were permitted to do whenever they so wished—made off with the intention of reaching Ayudhia and thence Bangkok. The Siamese who saw them, imagining that they were Englishmen of Phaulkon's party, overtook and arrested some of them on land and others in a boat which they had just occupied. They made them fast and brought them back to Lopburi.

As soon as the mistake was discovered, their bonds were unloosed and attendants were supplied to look after them and give them food at their quarters, as before. It is true that an Engineer, seeing himself hard-pressed in the pursuit, dodged and evaded capture longer

than the rest. When at last he was worn out and stopped to rest himself, he fell down in a faint and died in spite of the remedies and attention offered him.

The one and only thought of His Siamese Majesty was to preserve the friendship of the French King. He decided therefore to send back to the General his two sons with the officers he had left behind as a pledge for his return to Lopburi, believing that by so doing he would bring the General and his men to their senses, and compel them to desist from their unfriendly actions, but all in vain. They sand-bagged their ramparts and placed cannon in an inner fortification built with giant cocoanut trees. They raised two batteries one above the other, and scored hits against our powder reserves with their savage fire.

After that, several soldiers went down in Vêret's boat in search of the two ships which he had commissioned some months earlier for alleged coast-guard service. The Siamese sighted this small craft and hailed the French with a view to learning their intentions. The French, instead of approaching them, opened fire. The Siamese then boarded the vessel in order to arrest them, whereupon the French ignited their powder and blew the ship up.

On their side, in the west-bank Fort, the Siamese erected a "Cavalier" in order to discharge cannon-balls and bombs into the French lines. Fearing however that they might injure their fellow-countrymen as well as prejudice the relations between the two Countries, they only made use of it in replying to the fire of the French.

The French impaled several Siamese captured on the approaches to their Fort, and exposed them to the view of the Siamese Fort. Thereby they so angered the Siamese and the foreigners that a petition was made to the King to permit the erection of earthworks round the French position so as to invest it closely. The King, in his anxiety for good relations, refused this request, merely sanctioning siege-works to prevent the French from making a sortie.

The sight of these works in preparation convinced the French that they would be starved out before long. Vêret, the Company's representative, was despatched to Lopburi with a letter for me and a request for the loan of a big ship and 300 catties⁽¹⁾ for purchase of two smaller ships and for supplies. I submitted this petition to the

⁽¹⁾ 300 catties is 24,000 Ticals, equivalent to 45,000 gold francs on La Loubère's valuation of the Tical at 37½ sous.

King, adding that the French would be starved out if the siege continued much longer.

My proposal was that the General should sign an act of settlement, and find sureties for what he desired to borrow. Desfarges signed, and the Bishop together with the Missionaries and remaining Frenchmen in Siam went security for the treaty and for the loans.

It was agreed that the General, on his arrival at Pondichéry, should send back to Merguy (1) a boat which had sailed from that port for Masulipatam, manned by French and Siamese; (2) another boat which had sailed from Ayudhia under command of a Frenchman bound for Bander Abbas in Persia; (3) lastly, the ship which du Bruant seized, on his departure, together with its cannon, arms equipment and crew.

The big ship loaned to him was to be returned to Ayudhia, while the 300 Cattiees was to be refunded when the ships which Véret had sent to Pondichéry, Bengal and Surat returned.

The young Siamese in France learning different professions were to be sent back.

The treaty included a statement to the effect that Desfarges asked to be accompanied by two hostages as far as the river's mouth. The reason for this was that he feared that the Siamese might play some trick on him during his descent of the river below Bangkok. Desfarges, on his side, was to allow the surgeon and his own son to go down in the boat with the Siamese officers.

The Siamese supposed that the French would behave like all other nations and never dreamt of them breaking the treaty. They therefore allowed the General to embark these two officers in his ship. Véret and the interpreter were also on board. Young Desfarges, the surgeon and the second Ambassador followed in a small boat. The Bishop and I also followed with other boats.

On nearing the mouth of the river, the second Ambassador permitted young Desfarges and the Surgeon to board Desfarges' ship for lunch, and went with them, since he knew of the agreement which the General had made, and had full confidence in his honour.

Having passed the mouth of the river, the General took these two gentlemen on with him and kept Véret, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter Pinhero with him, but failed to send back his two Siamese hostages.

In reply to our expostulations, he merely sent back one of the

Siamese officials (his hostages) and wrote asking that the Bishop should be sent to him. I accordingly sent Fr. Ferreux to him in a boat containing the sick men. I also sent another boat loaded with provisions, and demanded back the remaining official together with Vêret, who was one of the Sureties, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter, promising that the Bishop would come later, also that he should have the remainder of his cannon and baggage.

The General however paid no attention to my letters, but retained Fr. Ferreux and started to set his sails.

Although I saw that the General was breaking his promise, and by so doing was guilty of an unfriendly action, I did not desist from ordering the despatch of all his boats. He, however, never waited for them, to come but set sail and went off with one of the hostages, the second Ambassador and the Surety, Vêret.

I therefore placed the cannon in charge of my officials. I then made fast the French who were in the boats and took them to Ayudhia.

As to the General's offence against the right of nations, I agreed with my Officials that the French in Bangkok and Merguy had not acted in accordance with the order of the King of France; since, in a dispute, everyone is agreed upon the importance of fixing the blame.

The conduct of the French led us to believe that they might well have had an understanding with the traitors, but the Siamese on their side never committed any action which could interfere with good relations.

The refusal of His Majesty the King of France to give credence to reports, and his desire to discover which side was to blame was, I admit, a heavenly inspiration, since he was unwilling to give ear to all that was told him.

As to the bond entered into by the Bishop, his Missionaries, and all the remaining French in Siam,—it is the Siamese custom that when a party who is guaranteed, breaks his promise, and evades arrest, it is the Guarantor who pays for him.

Now the Bishop of Metellopolis, M. Vêret, the Missionaries and the Frenchmen remaining at Ayuthia had stood surety for M. Desfarges and his troops, also for 300 Catties loaned for purchase of ships and provisions. According to Siamese law, all the Guarantors should have been put to death.

It was my privilege to point out that His Majesty of France was

ignorant of the excesses committed by his General and Soldiers. Thereupon, His Siamese Majesty readily agreed that nothing should be done inconsistent with friendly relations until such time as His Majesty of France had learnt the whole truth.

It is to be expected that the General would not have reported all the misdemeanours committed by himself and his men, yet the superhuman wisdom and understanding of His Majesty the King of France are such that he will not give credence to one side only. We believe that he will be ready to submit the whole case to scrutiny, in which event I need only refer to three points:

(1) When Desfarges broke his word, his sons and all the French officers left behind at Lopburi as hostages might have been put to death instead of being sent back to him at Bangkok in the hope of bringing him to his senses.

(2) The Bishop with the Missionaries who were left at Ayudhia might have received very severe treatment when the General repudiated the treaty and loan guaranteed by them. Instead, they were held under observation. As soon as Desfarges had sent back the Interpreter and the Officials from Puket, when he called there, the Bishop was allowed to put up a hut for himself inside one of the Royal Store-house enclosures.⁽¹⁾

The Missionaries were not released until we heard of Fr. Tachard's return with the two officials from Europe, when they were permitted to join the Bishop. On the arrival of Fr. Tachard's companions, when we had heard from their own mouths of the favours conferred on them by His Majesty of France, His Siamese Majesty accorded full liberty to the Bishop and to all his followers, in consideration of the royal friendship.

(3) The Siamese, after investing the French position so closely as

(1) The defence, here submitted by Kosa Pan, for the treatment of the Missionaries is contradicted by the impartial testimony of Fr. Maldonado, (Ms. n° 2) who, as a Jesuit opposed to the French Missionaries, would not be expected to exaggerate in their favour.

The explanation for the reluctance of the Siamese to attack the French is more flattering to their pride than the one given in Desfarges' book. In judging between them, we cannot forget that Desfarges probably possessed more modern artillery than the Siamese, who in that case showed prudence in not pressing him too far.

The main interest of this letter lies in the admission imputed to Phaulkon of intelligence with du Bruant, which, as indicated in the preliminary article, points to his desire to shield his friends the Jesuits.

to cut them off completely and starve them out, might have refused them the loan of ships or money, but in the interest of friendly relations, rescued them from the danger they were in.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

REMARKS ON THE LAND ROUTES ACROSS THE MALAY PENINSULA.

I met Mr. Henry George Scott, a very old friend, in December 1933. Our conversation turned on the question of the passes across the peninsula from the Bay of Bengal or the Gulf of Martaban to the Gulf of Siam. I was interested in this matter as I was convinced that communication between the ancient kingdoms of Sumatra, including Sri Vijaya and Cambodia was over the peninsula and not by the roundabout route to the Southern extremity of the peninsula and then up the Gulf. I had been over the territory between the Burmese Frontier at Victoria Point, (Maliwan), and Trang in January 1903, and over the territory lying to the East of this on the Gulf of Siam, the year before. When at Takuapa I was told of the place known as Tung Tūk (တုံတူ) which means the plain with brick or stone building, but had no time to investigate the matter. When I met Mr. Scott who was well acquainted with the whole area having prospected for tin over it, I asked him if he knew anything of this place and the watershed between the Takuapa and Menam Laung rivers. He told me that he knew Tung Tūk and the watershed and at my request prepared the accompanying note which I received on the 4th January 1934.

From what Mr. Scott said it seems quite clear that Tung Tūk was a great emporium or mart where traders met, and it is probable that the gold dust which he refers to as having been found in the sand amongst the ruins was either an article of trade or the currency used.

Ptolemy mentions the existence of a place in this region which he calls Takula, Colonel Gerini in his work on Ptolemy's geography published in 1909, gives ample evidence to prove that Takula was Takuapa. Now, Tung Tūk is a small island or high sandbank

situated at the mouth of the Takuapa river and was probably in the early years of the Christian era a part of the mainland. It may be that a part of the old town of Takula now lies under the sea. Ships from all parts of the Indian Ocean and further west came to Tung Tuk as well as ships from the Malayan Archipelago and Sumatra. The Takuapa river was probably deeper than now, and ships may have been able to go a considerable distance inland where goods would be landed and carried over the watershed to the head waters of the Menam Laung. The distance between the head waters of the two rivers is only a few miles as explained by Mr. Scott. The Menam Laung is a fine river finding its outlet in the Gulf of Siam at Bandon ^{သံဃာ} where there is a good harbour, but perhaps, not quite as good as Takuapa. The whole of this region in ancient times was colonized by Indians and many of the names of places are of Indian origin. The people of to-day called the Menam Laung Nāti without any special appellation. The word Nāti is the Sanskrit for river. The only other river in Siam called the Nāti is the Mekhong, and here again the surrounding territory was under Indian influence.

I cannot do better than refer the reader to Colonel Gerini's remarks about Takula in his great work.

To prove his claim that Takula is Takuapa, Colonel Gerini brings forward a passage from the Chinese chronicles of the Wu dynasty in the year A. D. 229-265. I now quote from Colonel Gerini.

"Some two centuries later on—or, more exactly, during the Wu dynasty of China (A. D. 229-265)—an embassy having been despatched by the king of Fu-nan to India, it is stated in the Chinese records that it returned by the mouth of the Tau-kiao-le, continuing its route by sea in the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) in a north-westerly direction; it then entered the bay (of Bengal) and ultimately reached India. In this account, the mouth of the Tau-kiao-le has been by various translators taken to mean either the mouth of the Salwin or that of the Irāvati, which is evidently absurd. It seems to me if the identifications of the two bays named in the account prove correct, that we should read Tau-kiao-le as Takāla, and take it as a name given the Pāk-chān River, from the fact of the city of Takōla being situated at or near its mouth. The position of the Tau-kiao-le would then suit all requirements with respect to the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) and the kingdom of Fu-nan (Kamboja), which at the period the embassy took place included Lower Siam; and no doubt also the northern part, if not more, of the Malay Peninsula. It would then

seem but natural that the embassy in question, instead of taking the long sea-route round the southern extremity of the peninsula, should proceed in small skiffs or overland to C'hump'hôn, and thence across the Kra Isthmus to the mouth of the Pāk-chān, to embark at the famous port of Takōla on its journey to India. This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siam, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea navigation through the Straits. The Kra Isthmus was the most northern point of the Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed. Hence it was chosen as the point of transit and transshipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siam, and vice-versa; and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance.

This evidence is to my mind of paramount importance and supports my theory that the trade route was over the watershed I have referred to. The ancient kingdom of Funan embraced within its frontiers the present day French Cochin-China. Colonel Gerini who did not know the peninsula believed that the trade route between Takula and the Gulf of Siam was over the Isthmus of Kra. I think he is wrong for I am convinced that the trade route was over the watershed of the Rivers Takuapa and Menam Laung. If Colonel Gerini supposition is correct, ships would have had to move up North to the estuary of the Chan river and the cargoes then carried overland nearly 30 miles before coming to the Chumpon Creek or river. Chaya a town now inland on the Gulf of Siam was an important Indian settlement and many important ruins still exist to testify to this. Bandon the present day outlet of the Menam Laung is only a few miles south of Chaya. It therefore seems quite possible that the Menam Laung many centuries ago found its outlet at Chaya and if this were the case one could understand why Chaya was of such importance.

Another point I would like to draw attention to. Situated in the district of Panom Sarakram on the river now called Cholo, a small tributary of the Bangpakong river which flows through the province of Prachin, is a place called Tarajasan ត្រាជាន. This word means the landing place for the King's letters or dispatches. Letters brought to this place from Chaya or Sumatra were carried on to Sri Mahaphoti a small Cambodian fortress some 30 miles East and then on to

Nakorn Thom. It seems probable that Tarajasan was on the sea in those remote days for it is quite evident that the land between this place and the sea extending right up to the Rangsit area known as the Tong Laung is of comparatively recent formation.

There is another Takula in Burma not far from Thaton, formerly a port on the sea, but now some 12 miles inland. Some scholars believed this place to be Ptolemy's Takula, but this cannot be the case. Takula or whatever the real name is, was probably a name applied to places where Indian settlers lived.

F. H. GILES

Oriental Hotel, Bangkok, 4th January 1934.

My dear Giles,

You told me last Sunday that I must write a note for the Siam Society on the archaeological matters I was talking of to you.

I admit that for many years past I have felt a duty to have some record with the Society on one point that has probably escaped notice: that is the fact that in 1908 or 1909 a considerable amount of coarse and fine gold was recovered from the top two or three feet of the ground at Tong Teuk on the Island of Kow Kaow, Takuapa.

Tong Teuk is so called because it is a grass plain on which the remains of brick and stone buildings have been found. There is nothing standing; but some signs of foundations and broken materials can be noticed in the surface soil.

The gold was discovered in the place where the remains of buildings are common. The people of the district, being expert tin washers, had no difficulty in recovering the gold, and in a short time the whole area (of perhaps two or three acres) was pig-sooted, and denuded of the gold contents.

The first point of interest is that this gold was not a natural phenomenon. Human agency can alone account for its occurrence. The geological conditions are that Tong Teuk is a flat area consisting of sea sand from the surface down to at least 20 ft. The surface is about 2 ft. above high-water. The sand contains throughout an appreciable amount of tin ore, so extremely fine that it can only be recovered with great difficulty, and is therefore of no economic value. The fineness of the tin ore is natural to the situation, the deposit

being fine sand. If the neighbourhood had been gold-bearing instead of tin bearing, the gold in the sand, (if present at all) would have been so fine that individual pieces would have been invisible to the naked eye.

All practical miners and geologists would agree that the natural occurrence of coarse gold in such a position is unthinkable.

If there were no other evidence, the obvious explanation would be that Tong Teuk was the site of an ancient market where gold dust was a commercial product or the medium of exchange, and that the gold found in the soil represented the accumulated drippings of ages.

Doubtless the Society has full records of the Hindu images found in Takuapa Province. The Phra Narai figures and inscription are famous. I will only mention that the stone images that were for many years housed in a shed near the Government buildings at Yan Yow were conveyed there from Koh Larn, which is close to Tong Teuk, being separated by a deep-water tidal channel. These images are artistically inferior to the Phra Narai, but apparently of similar origin.

Many years ago (25 to 30) Colonel Gerini told H. W. Bourke and me that from very ancient Chinese writings he had evidence that Chinese merchants went by ship to a river-port on the east coast of the Peninsula, that they took their goods by boats up a river, then carried them over hills to another river and went again by boats to a great market to which people of many nations came in ships and engaged in commerce. Gerini did not know the Peninsula, but by comparing the Chinese description with modern maps, he had come to the conclusion that Bandon was probably the east-coast port, and that the "great market" was near the mouth of the Takuapa River.

As regards the land connection between rivers navigable by boats on the east and west coasts, I may mention that in one day I have walked from a place on the main branch of the Takuapa River (I think it is called Tahūn) to Ban Sok on a branch of the Bandon River, spent three or four hours there, and walked back again. The distance cannot be more than twelve miles, and I estimate the maximum elevation of the track above sea-level at 500 ft.

There is a string of islands along the coast of Takuapa separated from the mainland by tidal channels and enormous areas of mangrove. The river finds its way to the sea through several openings.

Modern shipping uses the "North" entrance only. Until a few years ago, the "South" entrance was also used. But another channel, which divides the southern end of Koh Kow Kaow from the mainland, is still used by launches and sailing lighters going from Taknapa to Puket or Penang. This entrance has the great advantage over the others of having no obstacle but a narrow, definite bar; with a deep passage through the bar that is well defined by the water breaking on the bar on each side. This entrance, and the reach of the river inside have been much silted-up by tailings from the hill mines, that have been actively worked for about a century, but it is still usable by ships of moderate draught, and must have been an excellent entrance in old days.

Tong Teuk is just round the corner from this entrance and is the nearest and most convenient spot where solid dry land reaches the edge of a navigable channel that is completely sheltered and affords good anchorage. Elsewhere there are thick fringes of mangrove swamp.

I suggest that Tong Teuk is Gerini's great market.

Yours sincerely,

George Scott.

F. H. Giles, Esq.,

President of the Siam Society,

Bangkok.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The annual general meeting of members of the Siam Society, adjourned from February 20th, was held at the Society's home off Cole Avenue on the 20th March, 1935, at 6 p.m. Phya Indra Montri, the President, was in the Chair and there were also present Major E. Seidenfaden and Mr. W. H. Mundie, Vice-Presidents, Phya Srisihtikarn Banchong, Mr. J. Burnay, Mr. R. Lingat, Mr. C. J. House, Mr. U. Guehler, Mr. H. Brändli (Members of Council), Mr. A. H. Hale, Phya Sarasastra Sirilakshana, Mr. W. Zimmerman, Mr. I. Zieler, Mr. J. E. Davies, Nai Ariant Manjikul, and the Honorary Secretary.

The notice convening the meeting having been read, the Minutes of the previous annual general meeting held on February 14th, 1934, were taken as read.

THE WORK OF THE YEAR.

The annual report was next presented by the Council. This stated *inter alia*:

In the course of the year Professor Georges Coedès, a former President of the Society and now an Honorary Member, re-visited Bangkok. The Council had the pleasure of entertaining Professor Coedès, and on this occasion were also able to welcome another former active member and contributor to the Journal, also now an Honorary Member, in the person of Sir Josiah Crosby, the British Minister. It was the first occasion that either had seen the Society's home.

On the 1st January 1935, the membership totalled 189 as compared with 207 in 1933.

SIAMESE SCRIPT.

Definite advance is to be reported in connection with this work on the Evolution of Siamese Script. Originally planned to be the Jubilee volume issued by the Society, the Council left the matter in

abeyance, on the ground of cost and also because they believed there was a possibility of this particular study being included in a larger work to be produced in Europe. During 1934 the Council decided to abandon the idea of a Jubilee volume, and learning that the projected publication in Europe depended upon circumstances with which they could not be associated, they decided to have blocks made from the photos already prepared, before the negatives suffered further from the climate. The President, Prince Dhani and Mr. J. Burnay undertook to collaborate in writing a preface to the plates, the whole to be printed forthwith in the Journal. At the end of the year, the making of the clichés had been begun.

The index for volumes 1-25 at the end of the year, was ready for delivery to the printers, and will be issued as a separate publication.

TRIBAL DRESSES.

A proposal that the Council should make an attempt to preserve as far as possible by means of replicas, the dresses worn by the various peoples in Siam, having met with the sympathetic support of the Council, Prince Varnvaidyakorn promised to see what could be accomplished by an appeal to the Ministry of Interior. So successful was this appeal that samples of these dresses were still being received from the remoter parts of the Kingdom in February, 1935.

TRANSCRIPTION.

During the year an informal committee composed of persons interested but not necessarily connected with the Siam Society, have considered the Memorandum prepared by the Committee appointed by the State Councillor for Public Instruction on the subject of a system for the transcription of Siamese into Roman characters, a copy of which was submitted to the Siam Society for their opinion and views.

This reply was duly submitted to the Ministry of Public Instruction Committee, and later the assistance of the Council was sought in devising Siamese equivalents for scientific terms.

NATURAL HISTORY.

In December at a general meeting of members Dr. A. G. Ellis was elected to the position of Leader of this important section, and since the report was compiled Mr. C. J. House has consented to act as Honorary Secretary.

The Council learnt early in the year that the preservation of the wild life of the country was to be placed in the care of the Forest Department, and later the Council were favoured with a copy of the draft law on this subject. The President went through the list of birds and animals to be protected by the draft Act, and his suggestions were conveyed to the Conservator of Forests. Since that time there has been nothing to record, and the proposed law has not yet been promulgated.

ACCOUNTS.

The audited balance sheet which had been circulated to the members, prior to the meeting, was also presented. It showed receipts for 1934 of a little over Tes. 4,000, and a total expenditure in respect to the same period of Tes. 3,777. A debit brought forward from 1933 was met by a transfer from the Reserve Fund account.

The report of the Council and the balance sheet were unanimously adopted.

The retiring members of the Council were all re-elected *en bloc*, on the motion of Mr. Hale, seconded by Phya Sarasastra, and the President briefly returned thanks on behalf of himself and the Council.

SERVICES TRIBUTED.

Tributes to the work on behalf of the Society, and the Natural History Section in particular, rendered for a number of years by Mr. W. R. S. Ladell and Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith were paid from the Chair. And on the motion of Phya Srishtikar Banchong, seconded by Mr. Burnay, these two gentlemen were unanimously elected as Corresponding Members of the Society.

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. G. R. Brooks, the Hon. Auditor, for his services, and to the Chairman were adopted, and the meeting terminated.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1934.

Receipts.		Expenditure.	
To Subscriptions.	1023	By Clerk's wages	Ten. Siggs.
do.	1024	Travelling allowance	300.00
do.	1025	Cardmaker's wages	80.00
		Postages and Revenue stamps, Hon. Treasurer	256.00
		Postages and posties, Hon. Secretary	32.95
		Printing Crail's Flora, Vol. II, Pt. I	191.85
		Printing errata in Vol. I, Crail's Flora	546.00
		Printing Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pt. I	30.00
		Books for Journal	702.00
		Printing authors' separates	81.00
		Wrapping and addressing Journals, &c.	14.00
		Stationary	17.40
		Printing and distributing circulars	33.95
		Printing N. H. Supplement, Vol. IX, Pt. 3	117.85
		Books for Supplement	381.00
		Authors' separate Vol. IX, N. H. Supplement	14.00
		Printing index to Vol. IX, N. H. Supplement	7.00
		Advert. from various clubs	38.50
		Seable train for circulars quarters	132.06
		Sold, to H. M. for garden	50.00
		Ten on H. M.'s visit	88.76
		Repairs to screen and black-board	76.00
		Fire insurance: Building	34.00
		Stocks	34.00
			Ten. 81.77
			10.21
			141.99

x = 0–99,999 sales do not include Minors; Lamer's account;

Reserve Fund Account.

To Balance brought forward from 1931	—	4,700.00
Interest received	141.00	141.00
	—	<u>4,841.00</u>
Transfer to General account	—	1,841.00
Total on fixed deposit	—	<u>3,000.00</u>

...and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

J. R. BROOKS,
How. Auditor.

10	Hire of F. O. box	100	100	100	100
11	Books bound for library	100	100	100	100
12	Implementals and cleaning materials	100	100	100	100
13	Exchanges losses	100	100	100	100
14	Stipend for Major Seidenfaden's lecture	100	100	100	100
15	Stipend for oil summer script	100	100	100	100
16	Books sent for library	100	100	100	100
17	Books sent for library	100	100	100	100
18	Purchase of books for library	100	100	100	100
19	Cheque book	100	100	100	100
Net total expenditure				3,777.31	3,777.31
Debit balances brought forward from 1933				517.84	517.84
Gross expenditure				4,295.15	4,295.15
Balance				1,234.34	1,234.34
Total				5,529.49	5,529.49

Subscriptions outstanding.

1032	---	Total	150
1033	---	"	150
1034	---	"	300

Members as at 31st. December 1934.

Honorary	21
Corresponding	11
Life	3
Ordinary	166
Guest	4

U. W. WARD,
Act. Man. Treasurer.

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PL 1

A fish (*Pla Bük*) caught in the river Me Khong near Vieng Chandr, in B. E. 2472. The fish is lying on its side. The man standing by the head is Phra Pradum, the Commissioner of Nong Khai, who attended the preliminary ceremonies and saw the fish caught.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES AND RITES PERFORMED WHEN
 CATCHING THE PLA BÜK (ปลาบึก) A SPECIES OF CATFISH
 INHABITING THE WATERS OF THE RIVER ME KHONG
 (แม่น้ำโขง) THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN
 FRONTIER OF SIAM

by

F. H. GILES.

Introduction.

The rites and observances recorded in this paper must be of great antiquity. They are purely animistic and lack all Brahmin and Buddhist influence. There is only one place where Vishnu is referred to, and in the Siamese text the word *Phya Thorn* (พญา) is used which may mean simply the Spirits having power to move in the air. The people of the present generation believe this word to refer to Vishnu. Brahminism would seem to have extended its influence to this region some 2000 years back, but probably did not affect the everyday life of the people. This lack of Brahminical influence leads me to suppose that the ceremonial and observances used in connection with the catching of the *Pla Bük* must go back several thousand years.

The belief amongst the people that the Spirits who have to be propitiated and whose favour must be obtained are *Kah* (ก่า) and that *Seng* is an incarnation of a *Kah* Spirit is further evidence of the great antiquity of this festival. The rites and observances connected with the driving of elephants and the hunting of the wild ox, accounts of which I have published in the *JSS*, vol. XXIII, part 2 and vol. XXVII, part 1, are redolent with Brahminical and Buddhist influences. The territory in which elephant and wild ox are hunted

is no great distance from the Golden Basin, where the Pla Būk are caught, in fact all these three acts are performed in the region known as the Korat plateau (โคง) which is bounded by the river Me Khong.

Attention is drawn to the belief of the people that the Chief Spirit of the waters has found his home in the bodies of the ancestors of Seng (สง) from the earliest days to the present time. The Spirit is now living as Ta Seng (ตาสง) a local official of the district of Hawm (ห่ม); in fact, Ta Seng is an incarnation of the ancient Kah Spirit. It is probable that the Kah people occupied this territory in early times, but were dislodged by the irruption into the Valley of the Me Khong of the Lao, which certainly commenced 2000 years ago. Many Kah tribes still live in the vicinity of the Me Khong. They were an important race at one time and were probably the ancestors of the present day Khmer (เขมร) and Mon (มอญ).

At the present time a good deal of freedom and licence is allowed to the people who gather together for the purpose of catching these fish. The custom of using abusive language, which forms a part of the ceremonial, leads me to suppose that in ancient times much greater licence was observed, in fact, the festival probably approximated somewhat to the ceremonial of the Bacchanalian orgies. Amongst some of the people of this region great sexual freedom is allowed after the harvesting of the crop. It will be noticed that the theme of abuse is one relating entirely to sexual matters.

The Lake of Tali mentioned by Dr. Smith is situated in Western Yunnan. The ancient capital of the Thai and Lao people, known as Nanchao, is situated on the banks of this lake. The Thai and Lao, or perhaps I had better say the Siamese, know this lake as Nawng Se (หนองเสือ). Dr. Credner has published in the JSS, vol. XXVII, part 1, an interesting account of his exploration of this lake and the ancient capital of Nanchao.

1st April, 1935.

1. Lying between Vieng Chandr (เวียงจันทร์) on the left bank, and Amphur Ta Baw (ท่าบ่อ) in the province of Nong Khai (หนองคาย) on the right bank of the river Me Khong (แม่น้ำโขง), is found a deep pool in which the Pla Bük (ปลาบึก), a species of Catfish congregate. This pool is close to the village of Sæm Pa (แสนป่า) on the Siamese bank, and in front of the village of Ang Ta Seng (อ่างตาสง) on the French bank. This pool has been honoured with the name of Ang Tong Nong Chao (อ่างทองหนองจ้าว) which means the Golden Basin, the Lord's lake. It is surrounded by rocky hills, those on the right bank called Pan (พน) and on the left bank Panang (พนัง), the wall. During the months of July to September navigation is quite impossible as the pool itself becomes a dangerous whirlpool. The water channel is on the right side of the river. In the third month, February—March, the water in the pool is quiet and has a depth of sixty metres.

Having briefly sketched the topography of the pool, I propose to give a short description of the fish itself. A note written by the renowned ichthyologist, Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith, is appended to this paper. The Pla Bük is in appearance like the Pla Te Po (ปลาเทโพ) with two differences namely, that the Pla Bük has not the black spot on the ears and is devoid of teeth. This fish is of a light grey colour on the back, and white on the belly. It has no scales; its heart is very small, being only two inches in size, and is situated near the throat. The fish is easily killed, a thrust with a pointed piece of wood on the head causing death. These fish attain to a length of slightly over 3 metres with a girth of 2 metres. The male is long and thin, and the female is of stouter build with a large abdomen. The Pla Bük are in roe, according to local tradition, in the first and second months, January and February, but I have seen one caught at Chiengsen (เชียงแสน) late in July in roe, and bought its eggs. The roe is contained in two bags or cauls; the eggs are quite small. Tradition has it that the fish in the Golden Basin are those which lived there permanently whose numbers are augmented by migration from downstream in the sixth month, May—June, and that their habitat is in the great Lake in Cambodia.

Pla Bük are found in all parts of the river Me Khong and I have seen them at the mouths of the Nam Mul (น้ำมูล) near Suwanwari (สุวรรณภูมิ) in the Province of Ubol (อุบล), and also at Chiengsen, a considerable distance above Luang Prabang (หลวงพระบาง). They have also been caught in the Nam Kok (น้ำกก) near Chiengsen. The places known to be the habitat of the Pla Bük are as follows, starting from Kemarat (เขมราฐ) and going up the river.

(a) These fish are abundant in the great pools of the rapids of Kemarat (Lipi) (เขมราฐ). It is said that some of these pools have a depth of 600 metres. The water is so turbulent that the fish cannot be caught;

(b) They are found and caught without ceremony in the sixth month at Don Tamngern (ดอนตมแง) in the Amphur of Mukdahan (มุกดาหาร) in the province of Nakon Panom (นครพนม);

(c) Near the village of Nong Kung (หนองกุง) which lies opposite the mouth of the river Namngum (น้ำงุม) in the amphur of Phon Pisai (โพนพิสัย) province of Nakon Panom (นครพนม). The fish are caught here in the third month without ceremony, the catch being about three fish;

(d) Near the rapids of Ah Hong (น้ำหงษ์) in the amphur of Chaiburi (ไชยบุรี), province of Nong Khai (หนองคาย). There is no ceremony. The haul is about three;

(e) Near the village of Ban Tad Serm (บ้านตาดเซิม) Amphur Tawhaw (ท่าหวา), province of Nong Khai, some 12 miles above the famous Golden Basin, is found a small pool called Ang Noi (อ่างน้อย). The water in this pool is deep and the pool is surrounded by rocky hills which project into the main waterway of the river. The Pla Bük are said to make this pool a home and their numbers are replenished by fish going upstream. About twenty seine boats are employed in this fishery. The catching follows the great ceremonial fishing in the Golden Basin, and is carried out by the people themselves without ceremony. The catch is about six;

(f) Near the village of Ban Nong (บ้านหนอง) is a lake called Nong Chieng San (หนองจันทน์) in Siamese territory which is formed by the waters of the Me Khong leaving the main channel. This

lake is about 40 miles below Chieng Khan (เชียงคาน) and opposite the village of Kok Hai (กกไฮ) in the province of Vieng Chandr. The Spirit of this lake must be propitiated with right and proper ceremony before the people can commence fishing;

(g) At the village of Ta Ban Wang (ทาบั้งวัง), province of Vieng Chandr (เวียงจันทน์), near Kok Pui (กกไผ่) in tambol Hat Kam (ตำบลหัตคาม), Amphur Chieng Kan (เชียงคาน);

(h) At Don Khai (ดอนไผ่) about a mile above Chieng Kan is found a pool where the fish are caught in the sixth month when ascending the river, without any ceremony;

(i) The fish are caught in Luang Prabang (หลวงพระบาง) territory when ascending the river in roe, in the sixth month, in the same manner as at Chieng Sen.

2. Each year at the season of the falling of the waters, the people living in the vicinity of the Golden Basin, the home of the Pla Buk, join together for the purpose of catching these fish. The observances rites and ceremonies in connection with this catching, commence on the 8th waxing of the 3rd month, and continue till the 12th waxing. The netting of these fish is carried out from dawn to mid-day every-day, from the 12th to the 15th waxing of the moon. When the left bank of the river Me Khong was under the jurisdiction of Siam, the Chief Spirit of the Waters and the Chief Spirit of the Locality were invoked by those in authority to assist at this important function. Since the left bank was handed over to France the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr has presided over the ceremony. The ceremonies connected with the taking of these fish are ancient and have been performed from time immemorial, and carried out once a year.

3. There are several important Spirit Chiefs who have the duty of guarding over that portion of the river Me Khong in the vicinity of the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake, who must be propitiated by offerings of food and drink in order to obtain their help and favour, before the catching of the fish can take place. There are four important Spirit shrines, the Spirit inhabiting which, must be propitiated. These shrines are situated in the following districts:—

The Spirit of Siri Mangala has his shrine at Vieng Chandr.

The Spirit known as the Golden Swan (หงส์) has his shrine in the province of Vieng Chandr, at the village Kau Leo Ta Seng (แก่งเลี้ยว)

ตมส), in the tambol of Si Kai (สี่ไค). This village Kau Leo Ta Seng is opposite Ban Mor (บ้านหม้อ) or Don Ching Chu (ดอนชิงชู), tambol Sri Chiengmai, in Ampur Tabaw (ท่าบ่อ), on the right bank.

The Spirit Chao Dan (เจ้าตัน), he of the Guard House, has his shrine in the province of Vieng Chandr, at the village of Hin Siu (หินสือ), Tambol Si Kai on the left bank. This village lies opposite the village of Kok Sork (โคกซอก), Tambol Sri Chiengmai, Amphur Tabaw (ท่าบ่อ), on the right bank.

The Spirit of the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake has his altar or shrine at the pool itself.

On the morning of the 8th waxing of the moon, in the 3rd month, the people who intend to go to the Golden Basin to catch the Pla Bük must first go to the village of Hawm (ห้อม), about 12 miles below the town of Vieng Chandr. This is done because the chief of the village, a man named Ta Seng (ตมส) is the present day embodiment or incarnation of the Chief Spirit of the Waters. This Spirit, a Kah (กา), has found a carnate home for centuries past in the bodies of the ancestors of Seng. He calls up all the Spirits from the lower reaches of the river, and when they have come, the people prepare a feast, at which the Spirits are fed. After this feast they are all invited to accompany the fishing party to the Golden Basin, in order that they may protect the fishers from all dangers and give them a good catch. The offerings consist of one loin cloth for a male Spirit and a sin (ซิ่น) or skirt for a female, five portions of betel nut and leaves prepared for eating, twelve leaf cups of flowers, a pair of bracelets, and a pair of earplugs or rings, one or two fowls, a dish of sweetmeats. The party, after the feast, moves up the river to Ban Suan Mon (บ้านสวนมอน), the pleasure garden of Ta Seng, in the tambol of Hawm, about three miles below Vieng Chandr, opposite Hua Sai (หัวซาย), Amphur Tabaw (ท่าบ่อ) on the Siamese bank. The boats form a procession and move up the river stopping at Tana (ตนา) and Pak Sai (ปากไซ) to feed the Spirits and then go on to Ban Suan Mon, where another feast is prepared for these Spirits. The party spends the night there.

On the morning of the 9th waxing of the month the boats move up to Kok Kham (โคกคำ) and Chao Had Sai Mul (เจ้าหาดทรายมูล)

opposite Ban Pan Prao (บ้านพันพร้าว). At each of these places the guardian Spirits are propitiated and the procession then goes to the town of Vieng Chandr. On arrival at the landing, the party proceeds to the Shrine of Siri Mangala (สิริมงคล), the Spirit of Blessed Happiness, where, after making respectful obeisance, and giving homage, offerings are presented. The party passes the night here. The shrine is situated at the mouth of Huey Cham Pa Sakdi (ห้วยจันทน์ศักดิ์). Siri Mangala is a very powerful Spirit and he is invited to enter the fleshy form of a female medium known as Nang Thiem (นางเทียม). This medium is dressed in a red skirt, a red coat, and a red turban, and makes offerings of candles, incense tapers, spirits and sweetmeats, inviting the Spirit to enter within her. Musicians play on reed pipes the tune of the song Sudsanen (สุตสนน) inviting the spirit to enter the medium. Nang Thiem lights the candle and places herself in a sitting posture holding in her hand a bowl with candles and incense tapers, motionless. When the candle becomes dim, and the flame flickers, it is evidence that the Spirit Siri Mangala has entered his fleshy home. When Nang Thiem begins to tremble, she places the bowl on the ground, rises and dances. In addition to the medium there is a second person, the familiar of the Spirit who looks after him and supplies his wants, known as the Cham (จัน). This person asks Siri Mangala, when in possession of the medium, to grant favour to the party, fishing in the Golden Basin, and enquires whether the catch will be a good one this year. Nang Thiem replies that the catch will be fair, and more abundant than last year, but that a right and proper feast according to ancient custom must be prepared for the Spirits. The questioner asks what are the requirements of ancient custom. The medium replies that the food prepared shall not be contaminated by any person putting in bits of meat or fish, or by any one smelling the food or partaking thereof before the Spirit Hong Kam (หงส์คำ) or Golden Swan has been fed. After this the cooks and the givers of the feast may eat. The possessor of the Spirit then calls on Siri Mangala to leave the body of the medium and invites him to accompany the fishing party to the Golden Basin. Nang Thiem, the medium is paid sixteen atts (a quarter of a tical) a

flowered loincloth, two green coconuts, one bunch of bananas, nine couples of candles and incense tapers, for her services.

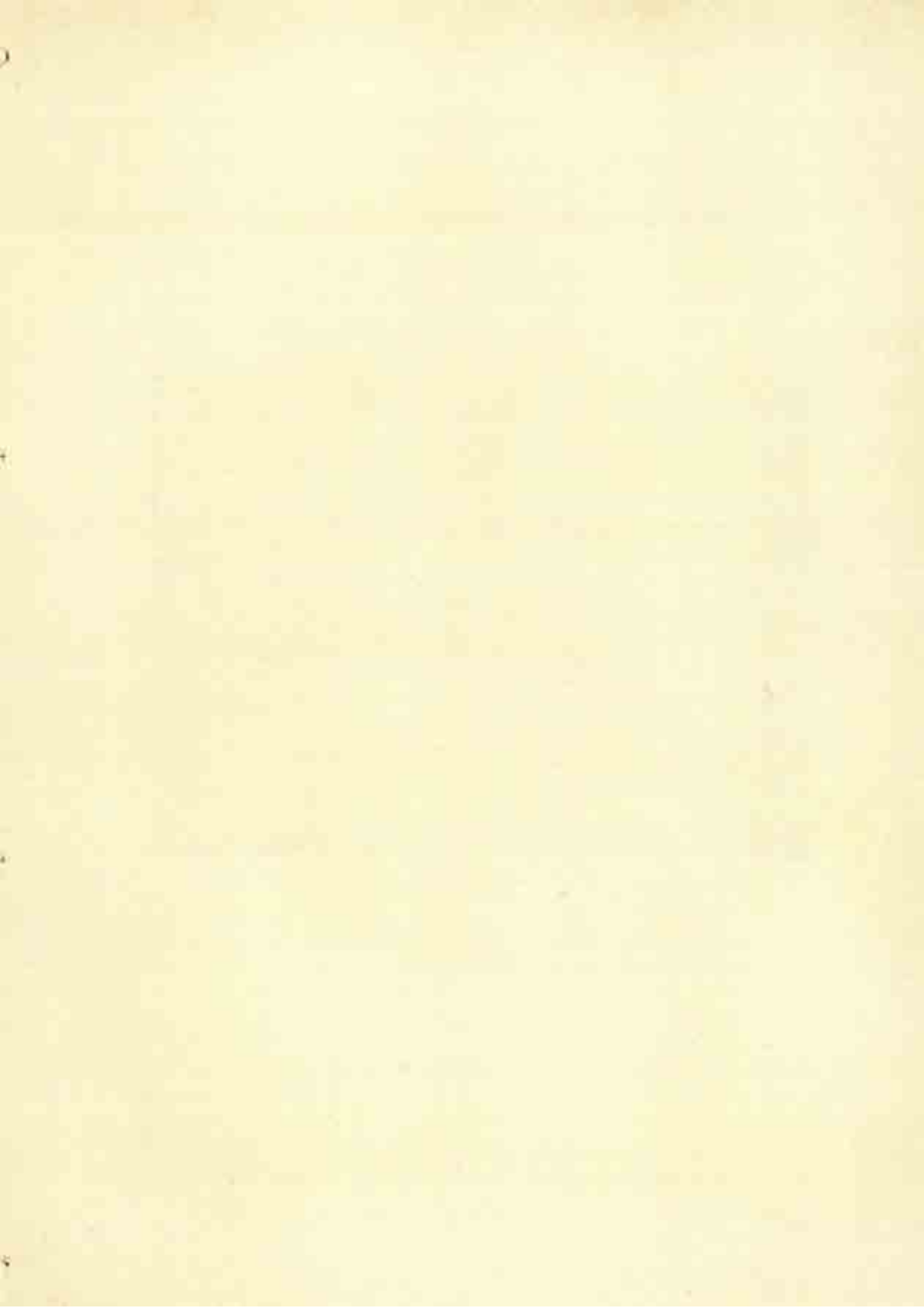
4. At day-break on the 10th waxing of the month, the boats leave Vieng Chandr in procession and go up the river towards the Golden Basin. On the way up-stream it is necessary to stop and propitiate by making offerings to the Spirit Yaya (ຍາຍາ), Mother of the Spirit of Hat Mul (ຫຸດມຸລ), Tambol Si Kai (ສີໄຄ) at North Tana, and also at Huey Vichaya (ຫຼວງວິຈາຍ). On arrival at Kao Leo (ແກ່ນລຳ) the nine bends, offerings are made to the Spirit of the Golden Swan. These offerings, for two successive years take the form of a pig, changed to a buffalo in the third year, and this rotation continues without alteration. These animals are slaughtered at one o'clock in the afternoon. The head, the fore feet, and the tail together with sandalwood flowers, candles, and incense tapers are placed on a salver, which the familiar of this Spirit called the Cham, takes to the Shrine and offers to the Spirit Saying:—

"We thy slaves, people of the country, come together to make offerings to thee, Chao Pawn Hua (ເຈົ້າປ່າມຫຼົງ) chief of all the Spirits, and respectfully invite thee to partake of our feast prepared for thee. The time has now arrived for us to enter on the important business of catching the fish in the Golden Basin, and we beg thee to grant us thy protection and thy favour that we may net many fish."

Later on, additional oblations are offered to the Spirit at this shrine. These offerings consist of nine different kinds of food, a dish of each is placed on a salver. These dishes consist of lab (ລາບ), raw meat pickled with fish sauce, toasted meat (ເນັ້ນ), a curry (ແກ່), boiled tripe (ຕົ້ມເສັ້ນໃນ), fried tripe, a kind of broth (ຕົ້ມນ້ຳ), toasted liver (ຕົ້ມປີ້), a kind of prawn salad (ເນັ້ນ), spirits, a glass or bottle. These articles are known as the nine offerings and are taken by the Cham, Spirit Possessor, to the Shrine where they are offered up, being placed on the altar. The Cham says:—

"We thy slaves, people of the country, coming together, invite thee to partake of the good things prepared by us. The time has now arrived for us to enter on the important business of catching the fish in the Golden Basin, and we beg thee to grant us thy protection and thy favour, that we may net many fish."

During the act of presentation of the nine offerings the Nang Thiem (medium) puts on her red dress, lights the candles and incense





Pl. II

The same fish as on pl. I lying on its stomach.

tapers, and these, with sandalwood flowers, she, holding in her hands, makes reverential obeisance before the shrine and invites the spirit Golden Swan to enter within her. The musicians play an entrancing air, the tune of Sudsanen, on reed pipes. The medium sits immobile with the bowl containing the candles and incense tapers in her hands. She soon begins to tremble and then places the bowl on the ground, rises and dances. The Spirit, has now taken possession of her. The Cham asks the Spirit, calling him the Lord of All, what will be the number of the catch. The Spirit replies that if the fishers act in a right and proper way the catch will be numerous, but if their behaviour falls below the proper standard the catch will be small, that you may not return home empty handed with your feelings bruised and hurt. The Cham then enquires what constitutes a right and proper manner. The reply is: Act in accordance with the best traditions of the ceremony. The Cham then invites the Spirit to leave the medium and join the fishing party. The food prepared as oblation to the Spirit is now eaten by the throng and the people pass the night on the spot.

At dawn on the 11th waxing of the month, the boats leave the "Nine Bends" and proceed further up river, stopping at Pak Mul (ปากมูล) and Huey Hawm (หัวห้วย) where offerings are made to the local Spirits. When the boat procession arrives at this place in the afternoon, the Cham, taking offerings of pork, duck and fowl flesh, presents this food to the Spirit of the Guard House (เจ้าบ้าน), whose shrine is at Hin Siu (หินสือ). There is no ceremonial of inviting the Spirit to enter the medium; the Cham merely pays his respects to the Spirit, and informs him that the party is going to the Golden Basin for the yearly fishing. The Spirit being in charge of the Guard House cannot desert his duties for he must remain on guard. The party camps here for the night, where gambling is indulged in till the break of day. A large number of people from the surrounding districts with their boats await the ceremonial procession at this spot, in order to accompany the party to the Golden Basin, which they dare not enter without the Lord of the Waters (the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr) leading the way. At dawn of the 12th waxing of the month, the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr known as the Lord of the Waters, who will preside over the fishing ceremony leads the way in his state barge, followed by all the other boats to the

Golden Basin. He stops at Kawn Sa Hua (ก๊วนสะหวะ) and the Kut Kawng Li (กุดก๊วงลิ) and makes propitiatory offerings to the resident spirits.

From where the boats are moored, a post of Mai Chalao (ไม้ฉลว) fixed on a sand bank can be seen. The Cham or Spirit Possessor takes some pork, duck and fowl flesh, and makes an offering of these things without any ceremonial to the Spirit Guardian of the gate at this post. He merely pays his respects and informs the Spirits of the intention to open the Golden Basin and catch the Pla Bük. This Spirit, also on guard, cannot accompany the fishing party.

5. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Cham or Spirit Possessor prepares food, candles, incense tapers and sandalwood flowers for presentation to the shrine of the Spirit of the Golden Basin. This shrine, which is situated in a building called locally the Pam Sai (แปมไซ), is approached with great ceremonial. A procession of boats is formed. These boats convey in state: two swords, two water gourds, two trays with betel-nuts and leaves, nine pieces of silver (ยี่สิบ), four pieces of bee's wax (ยี่สิบ), two green coconuts, two dishes of sweetmeats, nine pairs of candles, incense tapers and sandalwood flowers, one gong and two flutes, to this building. The Nang Thiem dressed in red as before, beats the gong and plays on a flute in the procession. When the shrine is reached, the Cham lights the candles and incense tapers and, making reverential obeisance, places them with the food on the shrine, saying:—

"Today, thy humble slave craves permission to pay homage to thee, Lord of this place, Chief Spirit of all. I beg thee to allow the people to net the fish, and that their efforts be rewarded by a plentiful catch. I, thy slave have brought coconuts (ทุเรียน), sweet bananas, betelnuts and leaves, pork (or buffalo flesh) and spirits as gifts for thee. If and when fish are caught, I will present two to thee, cut off their heads and pickle them, giving this food to thee."

During the ceremony, the musicians play on their instruments and the Cham continues to speak to the Spirit saying:—

"I have now brought the people and their rulers to the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake, and now invite the Mother and the Father of the Basin Spirit to proceed to the shrine in the Pam Sai. When fish have been caught, I will present thee with fish, prepared for eating with spirituous liquors at the morning meal."

The ceremony of invitation having been performed the Father and Mother of the Golden Basin Spirit are brought in procession to the shrine accompanied by music. At the Pam Sai everything has been prepared to receive these Spirits: mats have been spread, a dais has been arranged on which is placed one pillow, nine coats, nine pieces of silk, nine skirts (ซิ่น), nine pieces of white cloth, a bottle of spirits with tumblers. A lamp is lit and the place screened by curtains. A vast concourse of people is gathered here to receive the Spirits, and eagerly await the arrival of the procession. These Spirits are invited to take up their residence in the Pam Sai, the insignia appropriate to their rank is brought in a State barge, landed and placed by the side of the shrine where two Chams are on guard duty.

6. The actual business of catching the fish commences at five o'clock in the morning just before the break of day, the 13th waxing of the month, and therefore begins at the close of the 12th waxing and ceases at mid-day on the 15th. (A day in this part of the world commences and closes at dawn, not from mid-night to mid-night). No one dare contravene the convention laying down the period during which fish may be caught, for if they did, such a breach would bring ill fortune in its train.

7. Each fisherman has a boat made from the trunk of a tree having a breadth of 1 metre and a length of 10. Boats made of wood having eyes in the grain of lucky portent, such as Ta Song Taw (ตาสงตาว), "speeding the pole," Ta Sawt Nguak (ตาสอตเหงือก), "threading the gills," Ta Wat Hua (ตาวัดหัว), "cutting off heads," are selected. The nets used are very strong and made of ropes about the thickness of a thumb with meshes of 50 centimetres square. These nets are the short kind, having a width of 6 metres and the length of 10. The manipulating ropes are 66 metres long. The weights are stones, weighing about 6 pounds each. Three or four ropes made of tough creepers (เครือกล้วย) are also provided. The crew of each boat consists of two men, one for the bow and one for the stern. However, before these boats can be used they are subjected to a ceremony of purification, which includes the cleansing of the hull by fire. Homage is paid to the Goddess of the boat, the Lady Spirit (แม่เจ้าแม่สือ) by presenting fresh flowers, and incense tapers in leaf bowls. These offerings are fixed to the bow of the boats which is honoured by the sign symbolical of the Holy Trinity being

the West. Its bow points to the East. Its flowers have power like unto the Lord of Fire. Its leaves have power like unto the Lord of Nagas. Its bark has power like unto the Lord Vishnu, supporter of the earth. Fell the tree and lay it on the ground to dry. Its hull is wide like unto the leaves of the tree "Sam Tum Si Taw (สามต้นสี่ตอ). The father of the tree is confined in a trap with iron teeth, preventing exit. When he turns or moves about and touches the noose, a sound like thunder in the sixth month is given forth. This sound travels to Burma and is heard on the banks of the Mekhong. This sound excites to love young men and maidens. This sound excites old spinsters. Om, bring happiness to all.

หนึ่งกูขาดกูกกบด หูเขวขาดคายกูกกบด กูขยายบดให้เด่นพุ่งออก
ป่านหวาด เสียงเขย่าวออกไปสู่โยชน เสียงเชือกโพดให้เรือกูมาค้น
อม อะหะมะภาพ.

This translated into English means :—

"The leather rowlock is torn. I repair it and brush aside (the evil Spirit). The leather rowlock is torn inside the ring, I will repair and brush aside (the evil Spirit). I will brush aside (the evil Spirit), causing it to rush forth like unto spear thrown by hand, the sound reaching the ends of space. The sound travelling far, will return to whence it came. Om, let harmony reign supreme."

The incantation recorded below is sometimes used in place of the above.

อม ต้นไม้ใหญ่ดำงั่ง พันดำคายค้อมด้อมกูกกบด คายคอบอเขวฟาด
กูกกบด คายคอบผได้หวานกานกา กูกกบด คายคอบหอกเขวฟาด
บด คายคอบผได้ยากานกาคูกกบด คายคอบผได้หวานชกชาไมด้าย
กูกกบด คายคอบผได้คานกูกกบด กูกกบด อม อะหะมะภาพ.

"Om, word of God. Trees great in girth and stature. Dead, slain by strangling creepers united as one. I restore, I brush aside (the evil spirit). Dead, by hand of woman striking on the tree. I restore, I brush aside (the evil spirit). Dead, by act of Spirit using black creeper roots. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). Dead, by fear of spears raised to strike. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). Dead by act of Spirit giving poison of a deadly plant. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). Dead, by act of Spirit using roots of plants, black and bruised whose leaves are

striped. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). Dead, by act of Spirit cutting with sword. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). I slice in bits the Spirit's head. Om, let harmony reign supreme."⁽¹⁾

The incantation used when perfuming the boats, nets, ropes, and weights is as follows:—

อม หักของเส้า หอมเก้ทกัณเฑียง หอมเสี้ยงทักฟ้า นานาทั้งๆ วาสาว่า
ไล่ เจ้าโทหุคเถาะ ดับทุ่งไผ่ไหม้เง่นมาหา ดับทุ่งนาไหม้เง่นมาสู่
อยู่ไม่วีรของไถหาๆ ดับหัวเง่นมาเข้า เก้าหัวเง่นมาโฮม เชิญมาโฮมใน
ทวปอนัน มากินพาเข้า เจ้าเพิ่นเสวย อม สหะระภาพ.

"Om, word of God. O, scented bulb of creeper black, perfuming all lands and sky. O, fields and ploughs, the rainy season has passed away. The time has come for thee to stop thy work. Ten highland rice fields and ten lowland fields shall run to me. By virtue of my magic they cannot remain where they are, but crying, will run to me. Ten bulbs of the scented creeper will come and enter on the place and another nine will also come and join with them. O, please come, assemble on this land. Partake of the feast prepared. The Lord the Chief shall eat from the greater tray. Om, let harmony reign supreme."

When this incantation is being pronounced, the Master of Ceremonies shall pick up the net by holding the four corners in his hands, that is the two weighted and the two unweighted corners, and when doing so must suppress his breath. When the boats and nets have

⁽¹⁾ In vol. xxv, part 2 of the JSS, I published a paper dealing with the Rites and Ceremonies observed at Elephant driving operations in the sea-board province of Lang Suan, Southern Siam. In phase III of this paper, I described the rites which have to be performed when cutting timber to be used for the erection of the kraal. The incantations quoted above all refer to the cutting of timber for making boats. The Spirits inhabiting the trees must be evicted to prevent their doing any evil after the boat has been built. It will be observed that the chief of all the Spirits, the father of the trees must be confined and for this purpose he is placed in a fishing trap. This simile is used because the boats are employed in the important business of catching the Pla Bük. The leather rowlock have been also to be purified. The evil Spirit living within the same must be brushed aside, for if they were allowed to remain the rowlocks would break and evil fall on the fishermen. Evil Spirits are responsible for killing the trees required for making the boats. They must be brushed aside that the trees may come to life again. The people who engage in the pursuit of fishing in the Golden Basin have the belief that the boats they use are endowed with life, hence these death dealing Spirits must be removed.

been purified and perfumed, they should not be used for any purpose whatsoever, until the time fixed for catching the fish has arrived, when they should be brought out and used forthwith.

As some fish may break away from the Golden Basin and try to escape, parties of fishermen assemble at Ban Sam Pan Na (บ้านสามพันนา) near the Si No Hat (สี่โน้ต) rapids in Vieng Chandr territory, where a sand bank juts out from the left bank of the river. Other parties assemble at Hard Mul (หาดมูล) opposite Huey Hawm (ห้วยหอม) on the left bank, lying between Ban Kok Sok (บ้านโคกซอก) and Ban Ta Phra Badh (ท่าพระบาท) in the commune of Sri Chiangmai (ศรีเชียงใหม่), Amphur Ta Baw (ท่าบ่อ). Ban Sam Pan Na is above and Hat Mul is below the Golden Basin. The fishermen use long nets made by joining seven of the ordinary nets together, producing a net 35 metres long, and the weights weigh between five and six pounds. The incantations used for the short nets are used for the long also.

8. Before the boats are brought out to commence the operations of catching the fish, some of the fishermen pronounce this incantation, but this is not done by all.

วณนวันตคณค ขอคชกขคตว เจณาเจทา เจมาเจเมอง ผัง
ทงหลาย บ้าไฟโกธน ไหมยูนากิน เส้นวกจกกระเด็น ในวันผู้ธา
การทมาณดาก ขอห้ววทางมอบ เจ้าด้าน เจ้าท ไหมไรคมชัยใน
วณนเกศ.

"This day, this night is good, pregnant with good fortune. We beg thee to give us in abundance, O, Lord of the waters, Lord of the Landing and Lord of the Forests, Lord of the city and all Spirits great and small. The cocks are crowing in the forest before dawn. Please come to our feast prepared as an offering to ye all. To-day, we thy humble slaves pray that we may be favoured with good fortune, and in return for thy kindness will give to ye the head and tail of a fish. O, Guardians of the frontiers and of the countryside, grant us thy favour on this day."

At five o'clock on the morning of the 12th waxing of the month, each boat is brought out and paddled into the Golden Basin, going towards its upper reaches. In each boat are two men each one holding the upper corners of the net which is lowered into the water.

"Now we beg that the catch may abundant be, O, Spirit of the Waters and the great Sandbank. We beg the same of thee, O, Spirit of the Golden Basin, Lake of the Lord. Please open all the cavern doors that the fish may come out. Please give us our reward."

9. During the process of fishing a great uproar is created by all those present who indulge in abusing each other and shouting out challenges to fight. While the owners of the boats beg the fish to enter their nets saying:—

ให้ทานเจ้าเขื่อนให้ทาน ภูผาทนอ่างทองหนองเจ้า ผู้เป่นเจ้าอยู่หาด
ทรายหลวง ฮาดญาหลวงผู้เป่นเจ้านา บัดนี้ข้าขอศอกขอศอกวง.

"Give, O, Father Possessor of Plenty, give O, Cliff-faced rocks, O, Golden Basin, Lake of the Lord, O, Ye Chief, living on the great sand bank, O, Thou Great One, owner of the Golden Basin, now give us of thy plenty."

Many of the tribes who have come South have passed through this province from Sze-Chuan and Shen-Si, notably the Miao. The country La Nam would seem to be situated in the bowels of the earth, but not far below the surface. In the Lanchang (ลันช้าง) chronicals, it is stated that a king bearing the title of Phya Lanam Sen Thai Puwanard (พระยาลานแสนไทยภูวนารถ) ascended the throne. Lanchang was a name given to both Luang Prabang and Viengchandr, but as the capital was removed from the (former) place in the year A. D. 1565 it is probable that the Phya Lanam referred to was king of Luang Prabang. Lanam was known to the people of the country hence the use of this name in the incantation. This incantation is used for the purpose of coaxing the fish to come to the nets. It is usual to stir the water with long bamboo poles, hence the reference to the male organ of generation. The reverend teacher well versed in magic, curses the fish, that they, being overcome by fear, will approach the nets by the right way. It will also be noticed that it is necessary to call on the Spirits to open the cavern doors to let the fish come out. This is analogous to the opening of forests caves and subterranean passages. A good instance of this requirement will be found in my paper *The catching of Elephants in the Province of Langsuan*, phase VIII, published in JSS, vol. xxv, part II.

The first few lines of this incantation are not very clear. The men apparently are covered with sweat due to their exertions in navigating the boats and preparing the nets. That passage which refers to paying honour to the boats that they may be fruitful is an ordinary custom which requires that flowers etc. should be placed on the bow of the boat. See details given in paragraph 5 of this paper.

This prayer is repeated until the fish are caught in the nets. When a fish is netted, the boat goes down stream. The two men holding the net jerk it as a signal calling on the fish to come to the surface saying:—

เจ้าขึ้นมาเจ้าเขื่อนขมา เอาหางขึ้นก่อน บัดนี้ยกเครือแดงคักง
 บัดนี้ปึงเครือแดงผูกไว้ บัดนี้ไต่เจ้าเขื่อนให้ทาน บัดนี้ข้าขอคอกขอคอง
 หาดทรายทอดวงของผู้เป็นเจ้า ผู้เจ้านาแม่น้ำฮาดญาทอดวง หาดทรายทอดวง
 ของเพนนเดว.

Which in English means:—

"Little one, please come up. Thou of lucky omen, please come up. Present thy tail before thy head. Now I let down the creeper noose. Now, thou art caught. I tie thee with the creeper rope to the stake. Now, I have a fish. The Possessor of Plenty has made me a gift. Now, again I ask for abundant gifts from thee, O, great Sandbank, Chief of all, Lord of the Water, great in power, from thee, O, Great Sandbank, owner of the Golden Basin."

This prayer or incantation is repeated until the fish floats to the surface in the net. While all this is taking place should the fisherman's hat fall from his head, or his clothes drop from his body, he should not pick them up, for if he did, the fish will escape from the net.

When the fish comes to the surface of the water, the boatmen assist each other in securing it. This is known as scooping the tail of the fish (สักคอปปลา). This is done by placing a creeper noose over the tail, tightening it and then threading the rope through the gills, and securing the fish to the side of the boat. The fishermen begin to dance with joy, and in their excitement shout out volleys of abuse, and when they have calmed down, paddle the boat slowly toward the river bank, where the fish is tied to a stake, fixed in the water in front of their hut.

10. The people of the right bank live in temporary huts on that bank, and those of the left bank do the same on their bank. They do not mix. Should any boat having caught a fish, lose it, owing to the fish breaking away, the fishermen have to perform the whole ceremony of propitiation afresh, and they are subjected to the abuse and jeers of their more successful fellow fishermen.

11. Early in the morning of the 13th waxing of the moon the ceremony of making offerings to the Spirit who owns the Golden Basin at the shrine on the sand bank, has to be performed. This oblation consists of nine tables of sweetmeats, each table having nine dishes. Seven of these are presented to the Spirit of the Basin. One to the Spirit Guardian of the Gate, and one to the Spirit of the Gong. The offerings for the Spirit Guardian of the Gate is made at a hut, specially erected on the sand bank, in front of the boat landing. When these offerings have been made, a fish, the first to be caught, known as the Cham fish (ปลาช่อน) is killed, and its head and tail are presented to the Spirit of the Golden Basin. The fish is prepared as food, some being spiced (รส) some being made into salad, some toasted, some curried, some fried, some made into a plain curry, and the liver toasted. One of each of these dishes is placed on a table with a bottle of spirits, and nine tables are so prepared. Seven are presented to the Spirit of the Basin, one to the Guardian of the Gate, and one to the Spirit of the Gong. About midday the second fish is caught, killed, and its flesh, with spirits, is presented to the Spirit of the Basin, some being offered to the Guardian of the Gate and the Spirit of the Gong. This presentation is made with the same ceremony as in the morning. Music is played while the ceremony is being carried out, flutes and reed pipes being used.

Early on the morning of the 14th waxing of the moon, the Master of Ceremonies commands the Cham, Owner of the Spirit, to kill another fish and make offerings of the flesh to the Spirit Guardian of the caverns, situated on the rocky cliff on the right bank of the river, because the subaquatic caverns in which the fish live are near this spot. The same ceremonial is observed as when making offerings to the Spirit of the Basin at the Pam Sai shrine on the sand bank, and when propitiating the Spirit Guardian of the Frontier.

12. From the moment the nets are dropped in the water, and trawled or dragged to catch the fish, the whole concourse of people present, men, women and children, both fishermen and those who have come to look on, engage in a great tournament of abuse, but offence is not taken because the ceremony has demanded this observance from ancient times. This tournament of abuse continues till fishing is over. Abuse as follows is shouted out:—

พ่อเลี้ยง แม่เลี้ยง เลี้ยง บกเลี้ยง บกหมา บกหวดำน บกหมา บก

หมาดเมมมิง กัดเนมมิง บกเดี่ยวกูรอกัดเมมมิงแด กูรอกัดดกต่างมิงนำ บก
 เมาทวดาน มิงเมาตตายแดว กะยงมามาเขา หมาดเมมมิง มิงมาพ กู
 จะไปนอนนำเมมมิง มิงอย่าตมา มิงคนเมมมิงดา.

"O, my friends, men and women. Friends, O, friends, O, dogs O, bald headed fools, O, ancients in thy dotage. A dog shall lay with thy mother. I will lay with thy mother. O, Friend, let me lay with thy wife. O, friend, let me lay with thy daughter. O, ancient, bald headed one, thy age is great. Death is near to thee, yet thou comest with the throng. A dog shall lay with thy mother. As thou art here, I will go and in thy place, lay with thy wife. Do not return home till dawn."

From very ancient time, to the present day, the Spirit which enter the medium has always been a Kha (ก) Spirit, and as a Spirit of this nationality, is somewhat lascivious and delights in abuse and taunts in which the sexual relationship takes a prominent place, abuse of this nature has been handed down from father to son, and from mother to daughter, from time immemorial. The people believe that the form of abuse as given above is as music in the ears of the Spirit, gives pleasure to him and they thus gain his favour. The people also hold that if they did not abuse each other in the coarsest language the fish would not enter their nets.

13. When the left bank of the river Me Khong was Siamese territory, no fee, duty or royalty was levied in cash on the catch, as the price of the fish tail (ค้ำหางปลา), but a payment in kind was made on the following scale. If one or two fish only were caught there was no payment, but if three, then one fish was given, and if six, two were given. One fish was reserved for feeding the Spirit. Since the left bank has become French territory, a royalty of ten piastres is levied in cash for each fish caught, which is called the price of the fish tail. The first fish caught is bought by the Lord of the Waters (เจ้าน้ำ), and used for feeding the Spirits. The price paid is 30 piastres irrespective of whether the fish is big or small, the owner thus only receives 20 piastres. Should the people of the right bank catch a fish and keep it on their bank, which is Siamese territory, they still have to pay 10 piastres to the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr to cover the expenses incurred in connection with the fishing ceremonies. This price of the fish tail is not paid to the State. The ceremonies depicted in this paper are performed on the left bank of the river.

14. The maximum catch in the Golden Basin in a season does not exceed one hundred fish, and the minimum is about thirty. The weight of an average sized fish is about 270 lbs. and the eggs weigh about 6½ lbs. Whole fish are sold at prices ranging from 40 to 80 piastres. When the royalty on a fish has been paid, the owner is at liberty to take it to his home. It is here killed, and the retail price of the flesh is about Tc. 1 for 1½ lbs, and of the eggs Tc. 1 for 150 grammes. The people consider the flesh and eggs to be a great delicacy.

As many as 1,000 seine boats engage in the pursuit of catching this fish annually. Traders and others are responsible for another 200 boats. The number of persons gathered at one of these festivals is about 7,000.

The French authorities permit the people to indulge in every form of gamblings free. Opium addicts are allowed to smoke opium without molestation. Booths for the sale of food, drink, and other things are scattered along the river bank. The people are showing signs of losing their belief in the necessity for the observance of these rites, and as it is probable that this ceremonial festival will disappear in a few years, I have thought it wise to make a permanent record of it, with the incantations, before decadence has set in, and the festival disappeared.

F. H. GILES.

APPENDIX

Doctor H. McCormick Smith's Letter.

Department of Fisheries,

Bangkok.

October 27, 1933.

Dear Mr. Giles,

The Pla Bük of Mekhong is a catfish belonging in the genus *Pangasius* which has numerous species (about 12) in Siam, Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Indochina and India. The fish has unfortunately been referred to in some of the local literature as a sturgeon, and this misstatement is constantly recurring, as are other inaccuracies and absurdities (as, for instance, that the Pla Bük nourishes its young with milk). So far as is known, this fish is peculiar to the basin of the Mekhong, but its relatives are found in many other streams, and among those common and well-known in Siam are the *Pla Tepo*, *Pla Sawai*, *Pla Saiyu*, *Pla Sangkawad*, and *Pla Thepa*.

The specific identity of the Pla Bük has not been satisfactorily determined for the reason that no ichthyologist has studied the young and half-grown individuals or has ever seen a specimen less than one and a half metres long. My own opinion is that the Pla Bük may prove to be an overgrown stage of a species which when smaller is recognized under another name, but speculation on this point is not very profitable and settlement of the question must be deferred until studies can be made at the spawning grounds at Luang Prabang or until young specimens are available for examination. A very interesting feature of the fish is the complete absence of teeth and, in consequence, the fish has become a vegetarian, subsisting entirely on algae or other aquatic plants. This absence of teeth has been assumed to be of taxonomic importance by M. Chevey, of Indochina, who has recently bestowed on the fish a new generic and specific name, *Pangasianodon gigas*; but I have found that in *Pla Sawai* the teeth completely disappear by the time the fish reaches a length of 70 or 75 cm.

This Pla Bük is found throughout the Mekhong at least as high up as Chiengsen. At the end of the rainy season, when the floods have subsided, the fish undertakes a definite upstream migration

which carries it to Luang Prabang by the latter part of February. Spawning is said to take place in Lake Tali, and the fish remain in the vicinity of Luang Prabang and are caught there as late as June when, apparently, the downstream migration of adults and young occurs.

The Laos at Luang Prabang have some peculiar notions about the Pla Buk but apparently possess little information. One of their curious beliefs is that only the female fish migrate up the river and that the male fish, with yellow scales, await the arrival of the females at Lake Tali, which water the males never leave. On the other hand, the fishermen at Vientien and Nongkai report the presence of males in the annual upstream migration; and I have no doubt that both sexes are represented throughout the fish's range.

I have been to the annual fishery above Nongkai, and I have there measured and photographed a fish that was 2.47 m. long. There are authentic records of fish 3.00 m. long, and length of even 3.5 m. has been reported.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. SMITH.



PL. I

Chetiya at Wat Chiengman, Chiangmai.

SACRED IMAGES IN CHIENGMAI

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M. A. Cantab.

It is common knowledge that in the xvth century Chiengmai possessed both the Emerald Buddha, now in Bangkok, also the Ceylon Buddha (*Pra Sihing*) which is sometimes identified with the mutilated image still at Wat *Pra Singh*. It is not so well known that Chiengmai still possesses two small figures to which great sanctity, if not magic powers, are attributed, namely the *Pra Kéo Sé Tǎng Kamani*⁽¹⁾ and the *Pra Silā*, both of which are kept locked up at Wat Chiengman.

Wat Chiengman was founded by Mangrai, the Tai conquerer of Lamp'un, who established the city of Chiengmai on its present site at the end of the xiiith century: he is said to have spent his last days in residence at this temple. Wat Chiengman lies in the north-east corner of the city wall, and is notable for the row of life-size elephants projecting from each of the four sides of the Chetya at its base.

Palm-leaf chronicles relating to both images have been transcribed, and in the case of *Pra Silā* translated from Pali into Lao by *Pra Maha Mūn* of Wat Hō Tam, who is the leading Pali scholar at present in Chiengmai.

Pra Kéo Sé Tǎng Kamani is a small crystal figurine on a hollow gold base. The lower surface of the base bears an inscription in Lao characters to the effect that it was made in C. S. 1235 (A. D. 1874) by order of Chao Int'anon, the reigning Chief of Chiengmai at that time, and that it contains 303 Baht and 3 Sik of pure gold.

(1) Literal transliteration from the Lao. In Siamese, it should be 白身水晶, literally white body, crystal.

The crystal viewed at some angles appears black, especially the head: at other angles it appears to have a greenish tinge in the transparent white substance. The workmanship is not particularly fine. The head is crowned with a cap of thin gold.

The chronicle concerning this image is a long rambling narrative with little pretence to historical precision. Its main interest lies in its association of the image with the *Wisaka* ceremonies in the month of May, when the rains on which the Farmer depends for his crops are about to break.

Pra Maha Mūn states that his version of the *Tamuān* was copied from a MS. in Lao at Wat Ram P'eng on the 7th August, 1920, for those interested in the history of Chiangmai.

A rough abstract of it is as follows:—

Tamuān Pra Put'arap Sé Tāng Kamani.

When the Lord Buddha had been 25 years in the Ministry at Wat Khetawanaram, (Wat Pa Tan), he went round begging one day along the banks of the Raming (Me Ping) to the south east of Mount Ussu, (Doi Sut'ep) as far as the grove of Mai Yang trees⁽¹⁾ where he sat down under a clump of five trees to rest after his pilgrimage.

Khun Sēn Tōng brought five maidens and offered them with himself as slaves, but Our Lord refused the offer and preached to him that he should enter his niece of seven years old as a nun.

Our Lord prophesied that 837 years after his death a city named Chimai (เชียงใหม่) would be founded there. He then returned to Wat Pa Tan.

Khun Sēn Tōng had the likeness and the prophesy of Our Lord engraved upon a stone and buried at the source of Me Kha, west of Doi Sut'ep.

Later Pra Indra brought a crystal from the Second Heaven and gave it to Pya Rām, King of the Lawa country, ordering a figure of the Buddha to be carved in the month of May on the 8th day of the waxing moon.

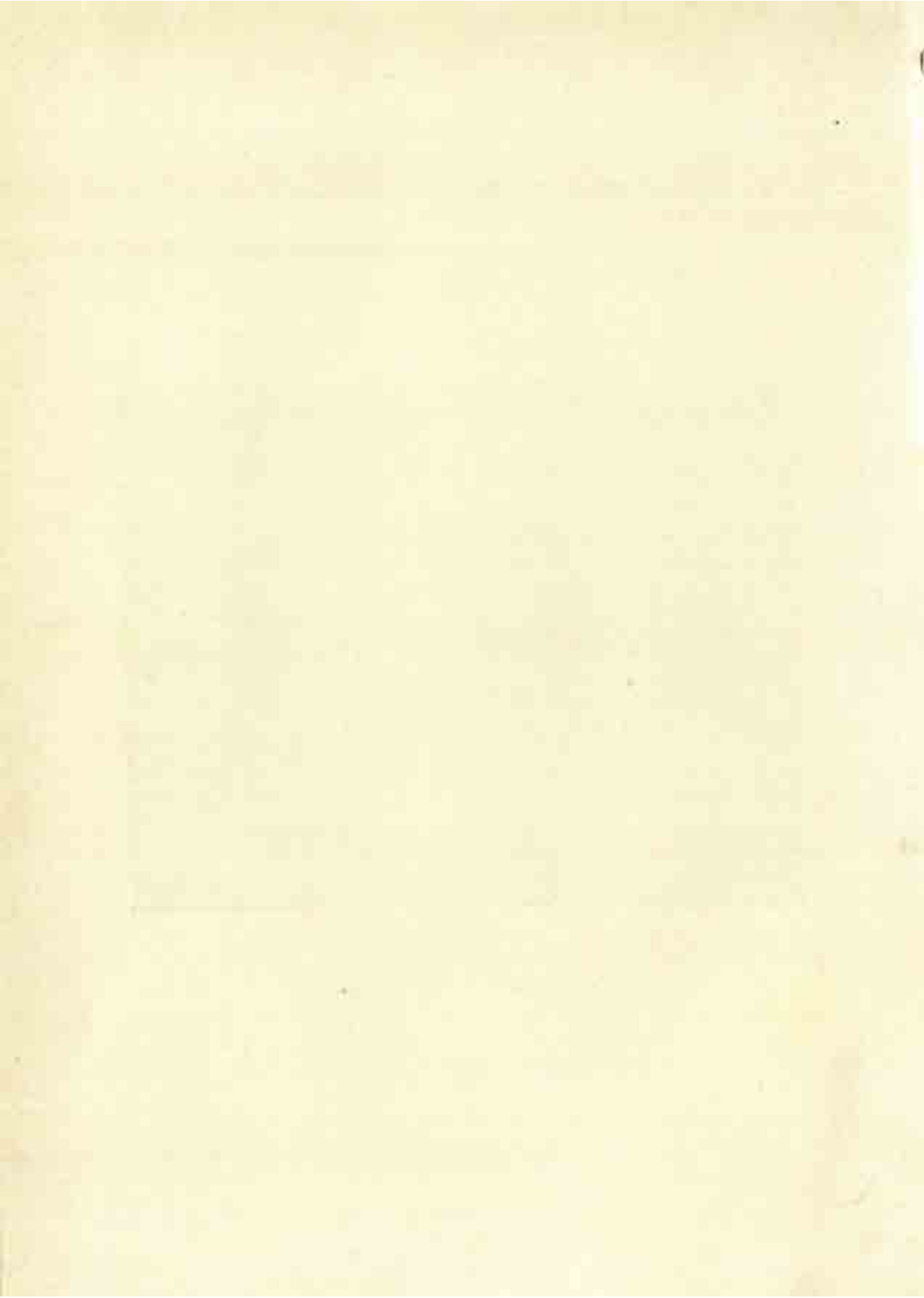
Subsequently, Nang Cham Tevi brought the crystal figure from Muang Lawō and deposited it at Lamp'un.

(1) The "Mai Yang", Gum Trees, are on the Lamp'un road about two miles south of Chiangmai. The village Pa Yang Nūng is to the east of Mangrai's first capital, Vieng Kum Kām.



PL. II

Wat Chiangman, Chiangmai.



When P'ya Mangrai conquered Chiengmai, he invited the Crystal Buddha to be placed in Chiengmai, where it remained until P'ya Suriyawong removed it by stealth to Ayut'ya.

Afterwards, P'ra Muang Yôt brought it back and placed it again in the sacred sanctuary, where it was preserved until P'ra Mûong Sam P'ya established the ceremonial which has been handed down from one generation to another and performed each year between the eighth day of the waxing moon to the full moon in the month of May from the year c. s. 741 onwards. During the festival the image is bathed in water from Wieng Chet Lin.

This image, with the *P'ra Sihing* and the *P'ra Silā*, is associated with the prosperity of Chiengmai. The city which possesses these three images will thrive.

The date c. s. 741.—A. D. 1380, serves to associate this image with the Ceylon Buddha—an association actually admitted in the last part of the chronicle—since it was about the same date that King Sên Mûang Ma brought back the *P'ra Sihing* or Ceylon Buddha to Chiengmai.

An examination of the features of the *P'ra Kéo Sê Tàng Kamani* confirms the impression made by the chronicle that this image had its origin in this country.

P'ra Silā. It is far otherwise with the small stone tablet which may be called the Stone Buddha. The features of the central figure are not of this country: its complete nudity is foreign to religious art here: an enlarged navel compensates apparently for complete absence of sex attributes: finally, the posture of the hips calls for comment.

The attitude and the posture of the hips is clearly the same as that depicted in the sculptured reliefs of the second century A. D. at Bharut, of which a reproduction appears facing page 13 in JSS, vol. XXVIII, part 1. Furthermore the form of the tablet clearly suggests a figure carved in relief in a niche. If the Bharut Relief is the earliest known representation of this attitude, it would appear that the *P'ra Silā* at Chiengmai follows a later, and possibly Ceylonese development of this tradition.

The three figures in relief on the face of the tablet are gilded over with a gold covering. It is however possible to see the raw stone of the tablet in places where the wooden frame does not com-

pletely cover the sides, and it is a dark "pepper and salt shade". In the text of the chronicle the stone is called *P'imp'akan*. Some suggest that that this word, which can be used to denote a certain sea-shell, implies that the substance of the tablet is fossilised shell: others translate it as stone capable of taking an impress, i. e. soft stone.

The lettering on the background behind the torso of the central figure is considered to be undecipherable. A suggestion has been made that the image is a copy made by an artisan to whom the language of the original was unfamiliar, and who therefore failed to reproduce the characters in legible form: and it is suggested that visitors from Siam to Ceylon may have seen the original of this tablet there and copied it to the best of their ability. It is not however certain, in our present state of knowledge, that the so-called lettering may not be simply a form of ornamentation, or the marks left by the sculptor's chisel.

Tamnān of Pra Silā.

Pra Maha Mūn has transcribed the Pali in Lao characters side by side with his Lao translation. He concludes his translation with the following note.—

The *Tamnān* was written in the year C. S. 1146. (A. D. 1785), on the 14th day of the waxing moon in the 11th month at Wieng Pa Sang,⁽¹⁾ by order of Pra Maha Pōt'a Langka. It was translated by Pra Wutinyān (Pra Maha Mūn) on the 13th day of the waxing moon in the 5th (northern) month at 1 p. m. in the year C. S. 1383, B. S. 2465. (A. D. 1922.) He first discovered it with the Stone Buddha at Wat Chiengman, and found the image to correspond in every respect with the description of it in the *Tamnān*.

Following the discovery, several replicas of the image were made by the faithful that same year. P'ya Sām Lān, a Chiengmai Grandee, had a wax model made from which three bronze images were cast. In C. S. 1284, P'ya Dek Chai, another Grandee of Chiengmai, had a stone copy made only differing from the original in being mixed with brick instead of pure stone. In the same year merit-makers had another copy made of the same colour. There were thus three images in all of stone and

(1) Pā Sang is an important village in the Pāk Bong area, about ten miles south-south-west of Lamp'ūn.



Pl. III

Pra Silā at Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.

three in bronze representing the Lord Buddha begging for alms in Rachakrüt.

A must Elephant was allowed to charge Our Lord : Maha Ananda saved his life by turning away the Elephant's face from him. The image measures a span and four inches in height by a span in breadth including all three figures.

Regarding the replicas of the image, it appears that the plaster statue of Buddha in the northern niche of the *Chetya* at Wat Siri Köt was, as the Bouzes of that Wat maintain, copied from the central figure of the group comprising the *Pra Silā*. The figure in the southern niche of the *Chetya* of Wat Mün Sān⁽¹⁾ suggests a similar inspiration. The narrative, briefly summarised, is as follows.—

The first portion describes the circumstances under which the *Pra Silā* was created in Rachakrüt seven years after the Buddha's death by Achātāsātrū, one of the eight recipients of the relics of the Buddha. The extent and the nature of the relics are described in detail, and seven of them are said to have been embodied in the Stone Buddha, thereby endowing it with miraculous powers.

The second part of the chronicle relates the removal of the Stone Buddha from Rachakrüt to Ceylon by three *Thera*, and the invitation they there received from P'ya Anurāt'ā to remain in his kingdom. They decided however to bring the Stone Buddha to Harip'unchai (Lamp'un).

The miraculous power of the Stone Buddha to produce rain was manifested during a shortage of fresh water on the sea journey from Ceylon to La-Khūng, where an attempt by the Prince of that place to detain the Stone Buddha was not successful. After passing through Sawankalok the three *Thera* brought the Stone Buddha to Nakôn (Lampang) where it remained for a long time.

The third portion of the chronical relates the removal of the Stone Buddha from Lampang to Chiengmai by King Tilok circ.

(1) Wat Mün Sān, reputed to be the temporary resting place in Chiengmai of *Pra Silā* is a temple outside the north-west city gate, Platu Haiya. The *Chetya* is unusual in that the niche on the east side extends back into the heart of the monument, where a common-place plaster figure now rests. The eastern niche contains a modern plaster figure whose attitude is somewhat similar to that of the figure mentioned at Wat Siri Köt, the temple with the giant ficus tree just east of Wat P'ra Singh.

A. D. 1480. Its first abode was Wat Mūn Sān, until Tilok brought it into his royal Sanctuary. All that is mentioned of its subsequent history is a repetition of the rain-producing qualities of this image.

Before offering any remarks upon this chronicle we must refer to the important religious chronicle of Chiengmai written in the year A. D. 1516 by Ratanapanya of Wat Rattavana, and entitled *Jinakālamalinī*. No mention of the Stone Buddha will be found in it, but a full account of both P'ra Sihing and P'ra Kēo Morokot, the Emerald Buddha, is given, of which the following analysis is drawn from the the translation by Professor George Codès.⁽¹⁾

The *P'ra Sihing* was sent to Siam from Ceylon by the King of that country in the year C. S. 618, B. S. 1800 (A. D. 1256.) at the request of the King of Sawankalok, Rocaraj, who came down in person to Nakōn Sri Tammarat to receive it. The boat carrying the image struck a reef; but the thwart on which the image stood remained afloat and was rescued off Nakōn by Rocaraj and the image was taken by him to Sawankalok where it remained until the establishment of the Ayut'ya dynasty. Its removal to the North of Siam was due to the action of King Mahabrahma of Chiengrai, who hearing of its merits brought an army south to carry away the image.

Mahabrahma, after depositing it for a while at Chiengmai, took the P'ra Sihing to Chiengsēn. He then placed it in the sanctuary of the great Buddha at Chiengrai. His nephew, Sēn Mūang Ma of Chiengmai, attacked him and brought him as a prisoner with the Statue to Chiengmai. It was placed in Wat P'ra Singh towards the end of the xivth century. (JKM, 126-133).

The *Emerald Buddha* was made by Nagasena, the master of Milinda, 500 years after Buddha's death. It is one cubit and one inch high, and contains seven relics of Buddha.

In the year A. D. 256 it was removed from India to Ceylon, and remained there until Anuruddha, King of Pagan, came to Ceylon in search of a correct copy of the scriptures. He took the image away with him; but the boat in which he placed it

(1) Professor Codès' translation of the *Jinakālamalinī* (ref. JKM.) and *Cāmadevivamsa* into French was published in a paper entitled *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, which appeared in BEFEO, vol. xxv, pt. 1 and 2.



Pl. IV

Chetiya at Wat Mun San, Chiangmai. (North face).

N. B. A niche on the opposite, south side, contains a plaster figure which may have been inspired by P'ra Silā, but is inaccessible for photograph.



Pl. V

Plaster statue in northern niche of Chetiya at
Wat Siri Küt, Chiangmai.

was carried out of its course by a storm, and its contents found their way to Angkor. Anuruddha came to Angkor on his magic horse to rescue them, but overlooked the image when he returned to Pagan. The Emerald Buddha thus remained at Angkor until the Siamese invasion, when it was carried off to Kampāng Pēt. Eventually Mahabrahma took it to Chiengrai with the *Pra Siking*. When Sān Mīang Ma restored the latter to Chiengmai, the Emerald Buddha escaped attention, having been disguised under a coating of lime. In the xvth century, Tilok, King of Chiengmai, sent for it, but it proved to be too heavy to be carried over the hills. A more successful attempt was then made to carry it by cart to Lampang where it remained until Tilok collected it and placed it in the great *Chetya* at Chiengmai. (JKM, 145-150).

The common factor in the history of these three images, the Emerald, Ceylon, and Stone Buddhas is their passage through Ceylon from India, and their escape from danger on the sea between Ceylon and Further India. In each case, the images remained for varying short periods at Sawankalok before reaching the northern province. Both the Stone and the Emerald Buddha spent some time at Lampang before coming to Chiengmai in Tilok's reign.

The omission of Lamp'un as a resting place for any of the three images points to the fact that they were only known in the North after that place had sunk into decay as a result of its conquest by Mangrai at the end of the xiiith century.

In the case however of the *Pra Kéo Sé Tāng Kamanī* the claim is made that it was brought to the North by Nang Cham Tevi, the Môn princess whose arrival at Lamp'un from Lawō (Lop'uri) at the end of the viith century is taken as a symbol of the conquest of the early Lawa inhabitants by the Môn, who came from the South and ruled the North of Siam until they in their turn were conquered by Mangrai at the end of the xiith century A. D. The *Jinakālamālinī* begins with an account of the legendary circumstances which preceeded the birth of Nang Cham Tevi, from whose coming to Lamp'un onwards a complete list of rulers of that town is given up to the coming of Mangrai. Their history is given in detail in another Pali chronicle, probably of the xvth century, by a Bonze of Chiengmai named Bodhiramsi—also translated by Professor Codès, and entitled "*Cāmadevivamsa*". No image of this name is men-

tioned in either chronicle, but the *Jinakālamalīnī*, in relating the history of King *Pra Mtiang Kéo* in the early xvth century, does refer to a statue of the Buddha named *Pra Sikhi*, one of five statues made out of a black stone upon which Our Lord sat when he taught the law in lower Siam. It is stated to have been taken to Burma by King Anuruddha, who hearing of the piety of the Lamp'un Buddhists, returned it to North Siam. Nang Cham Tevi is stated to have been at Lampang at the moment when it arrived, and to have deposited it there in the Sanctuary on the West bank of the river. It was removed to Ayut'ya in 1515 at about the same time as the *Pra Kéo Sé Tāng Kamani*, which itself had been taken off to Ayut'ya, was re-established in Chiangmai in connection with the Wisaka ceremonies. There are thus certain vague coincidences between the history of the *Pra Kéo Sé Tāng Kamani* and the *Pra Sikhi*; but nothing more.

The last paragraph of the chronicle of *Pra Kéo Sé Tāng Kamani* associates that image with the *Pra Sihing* and the *Pra Silā* as responsible for the prosperity of Chiangmai. The fact that no mention is made of the Emerald Buddha points to a date subsequent to its removal from Chiangmai as the date when that chronicle was composed.

In the opinion of *Pra Maha Mūn* and other Lao authorities in Chiangmai, the image at Wat *Pra Singh* which was mutilated in 1922 by brigands in search of hidden treasure and since restored is a *Pra Tiem* and not, as generally supposed, the Ceylon Buddha *Pra Sihing*. According to these authorities the *Tamnān* relating to that image is explicit in its description of the *Pra Sihing* which differs in important points from the extant image at Wat *Pra Singh*. In their opinion the Ceylon Buddha has been absent from Chiangmai for a time the length of which is unknown.

The most serious question raised by the chronicle of the Stone Buddha (*Pra Silā*) is the fact that no mention is made of it in either *Jinakālamalīnī* or *Cāmadevivamsa*, nor, so far as is known, in any secular chronicle.

The fact that the Pali chronicle of the Stone Buddha was not composed until the year 1785, coupled with the silence of the religious and secular chronicles above-mentioned, would point to the supposition that it was deemed worthy of attention only after the removal of the more famous images from Chiangmai. The similarity of its

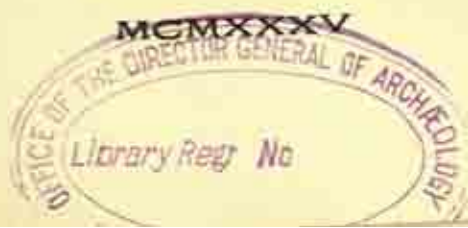
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PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

JOHN H. P. JONES

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

(22)

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PL. VI

P'ra Sé Tàng Kamañi, Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.

later history with that of the Emerald Buddha, as well as the relics reputed to be contained in it as in the more famous statue, would be calculated to stimulate popular interest in this interesting treasure.

It is a matter of interest also that both the treasures now kept at Wat Chiengman should be associated with rainfall. In the case of the *Pra Silā*, the power to produce rain is constantly insisted upon in the Chronicle, and in view of the magic power conferred by the relics said to be contained in it the claim is not extraordinary.

My collaborators⁽¹⁾ in the work of translating the *Tamnān Pra Silā* have produced a version in modern Siamese with notes upon archaic terms, etc. I have checked it with the Lao MS. of *Pra Maha Mūn*, and am satisfied that to the best of my knowledge their Siamese transcription reproduces the Lao text accurately.

Chiengmai, 28 August, 1935.

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

(1) Nai Sangiem Sukhavaddhana and Nai Dokmai Srivicharn.

ตำนาน พระพุทธรูป ศีลา อันพระยาอชาตศัตรู สร้าง

ผู้⁽¹⁾ ขาไหด้วยคารวะ ยังพระอาทตยคือพระพุทธเจ้า กนกรตั้ง⁽²⁾ จตุราริย
ตั้ง⁽³⁾ ทั้งดี ตนยังขาดอกอุบถ⁽⁴⁾ คือคนและ เทวดาผู้เป็นนย⁽⁵⁾ บุคคลหือ
บานผู้⁽⁶⁾ ขากไหด้วยคารวะ ยังพระนว⁽⁷⁾ โลกุตตรธรรม⁽⁸⁾ กับทั้งปริ
ยัติธรรม⁽⁹⁾ อันจากคคตเสยยังโมห⁽¹⁰⁾ ผู้⁽¹¹⁾ ขากไหด้วยคารวะ ยังพระ
สังฆเจ้าแปดจำพวก อัน เป็นอุก เหมอันตั้งเกิดแต่อกแห่งพระพุทธเจ้า
คนประจัญ⁽¹²⁾ เปะ ยังบัญญัติมารหาประการนน⁽¹³⁾ แด ๆ

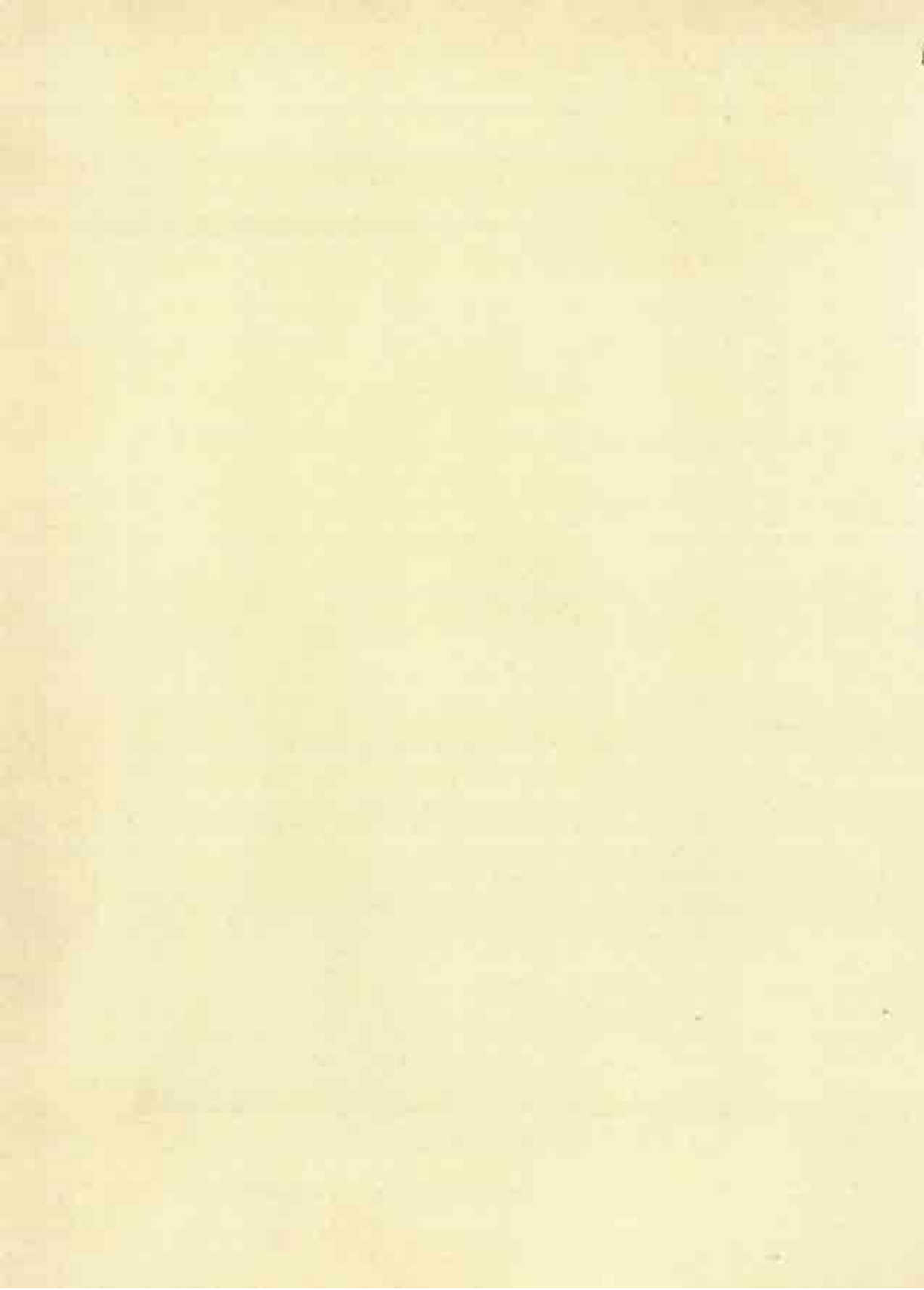
พระพุทธรูปเจ้าคนใด อันด้วยห็นพิมพ์การ⁽¹⁴⁾ อันพระยาอชาตศัตรู⁽¹⁵⁾ หือ
สร้างแล้ว ผู้⁽¹⁶⁾ ขากกถาวรังดี⁽¹⁷⁾ ประเวณี⁽¹⁸⁾ อุบถ⁽¹⁹⁾ อันยังเกิดแห่งพระพุทธ
เจ้าคนนั้นเพื่อหือยันตเกิดปฐ⁽²⁰⁾ ฐิต⁽²¹⁾ เจ้าทั้งหลาย

- (1) คชะ แปลว่า ความเคารพ, ความนับถือ (2) จตุรนิขลจักร แปลว่า ความ
ฉิบหาย ชื่อธรรมสำคัญหมวดหนึ่ง มี ๔ ชื่อ คือ ทุกข์, ทุกข์ สมุทัย (ที่เกิดแห่ง
ทุกข์), ทุกขนิโร (ความดับทุกข์), แลมรรค (ทางแห่งความดับทุกข์) (3) อุบ
ถอกบถ (4) นย กษปะพฤติ, มรรยพ, ระเบียบ, ความคิดดี, การแนะนำ, วิธ
สมควร (5) นว เก้า เช่นเขมวาทาคูณคือคุณพระพุทเจ้า ๙ ประกาช หรือมีลลิต
ลาสน์ คำสอน ของ พระ ศาสตามิ องค์กร (6) โลกุตตรธรรม ธรรม อัน อยู่เหนือ
โลก, ธรรมอันประเสริฐ (7) ปวิยัติธรรม ธรรม คือ กษเล้ามัยน (8) โมห ความ
หลง, ความเขลา, ความโง่ (9) ประจัญ ต่อสู้ หรือต้านทาน (10) เปะ (ตะ) ชนะ
(11) พิมพ์การ (นับแต่ พิมพ์การ) เป็นหอย พะล คล้าย หอย แลละ แต่ ยากว่า น่าจะ
เป็นเอา ดิน ที่ เกิด จากหอย นี้ มาก (12) มีส ธรรมนิยม, ตระกูล, แบบ, แผน,
เข่นวรัล จิต คำนวนตระกูล (13) ประเวณี ประเพณี, ธรรมเนียม, แบบแผน, เรือ
สาย (14) รูปติ เกิด, ทำเนียด (15) ฐปฐฐิต คนดี, คนฉลาด



Pl. VI bis.

Pra Sé Tāng Kamani, Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.



พระโคตมะ⁽¹⁾ เจาตนเป็นครูแห่งเราทั้งหลาย นำเพ็ญหอย⁽²⁾ เต็มแล้วยัง
 บารมี⁽³⁾ ชรรณหงวอด มีทานะบารมีเป็นต้น คือพุทธกรณียะ⁽⁴⁾ ชรรณ
 สันกาดนานประมาณสี่ร้อย⁽⁵⁾ แล่นมหาปปิ⁽⁶⁾ แล้ว ก็ได้ถึงยังสัพ
 พัญญะ⁽⁷⁾ ตัญญาณ เทบเค้า⁽⁸⁾ ไม่ศรัทธาโพธิ์แล้วพระกักระทำพุทธกิจ ห้า
 ประการนั้นทุกวัน ๆ แด ๆ

คือในกาลเมื่อเจ้าพระเจ้าจะเดินไปบิณฑบาตร เมื่อยามเย็น พระพุทธ
 เจ้าเทศนารธรรมแก่บริษัท เมื่อเชลวัน⁽⁹⁾ คำสอนนักขัตตังคด้วยคำมคิน
 ว่า “อุปมาเทน สัมปาทะ⁽¹⁰⁾” นั้น เมื่อเที่ยงคืนแกมญหาแก่เทวดาทัง
 หาดาย

เมื่อจกใกล้รุ่งพระเจ้าเสด็จ⁽¹¹⁾ สรรพบุคคตผู้ชนจกถึงมรรค⁽¹²⁾ ผลและเสด็จ
 คู่อสรรพบุคคตผู้ชนถึง⁽¹³⁾ มรรคผล พระพุทธเจ้าเทียงยอม⁽¹⁴⁾ กระทำ
 พุทธกิจห้าประการนั้นทุกวัน ๆ แด ๆ

(1) โคตมะ ผู้ชนะ คือลัทธิ พื้มาล ติน (2) ห้อย เต่า ไข่ (3) บารมี คุณ
 ความดีที่ควมบำเพ็ญ ๑๐ อย่าง คือทาน ศีล เนกขัมม เกธออกจากกาม คือ ขว
 ปิเบญญา วิวิชะ ชันติ สัจจ ปิณฐาน เมตตา อุเบกขา⁽⁴⁾ กณณีย กณณียะ กษอันพิ
 ทำ ชูร ทนที (5) อสรไขบ นับไม่ถ้วน หรือ ๑๐๐๐๐๐๐๐^(๖) (6) กัปป
 เม) กัลป (๗) กษกำหนด บุคคต คือกฤตบุค ๑.๗๕๘.๐๐๐ ปี เวดาบุค
 ๑.๗๕๐.๐๐๐ ปี ทวปรบุค ๘๐๕.๐๐๐ ปี กสิบุค ๔๓๓.๐๐๐ ปี รวม ๑ มหาบุคมี
 ๔.๓๔๐.๐๐๐ ปีเท่ากับ ๑ กัลปี (7) สัพพัญญู ความรอบรู้ทุกสิ่ง (8) เค้า โคน
 (9) เชลวัน โกลี พลบ (10) อุปมาเทน สัมปาทะ ท่าน ที่รู้ลลช ย่น่า ปะมาท
 (11) เสด็จ เพื่. พมย. (12) มรรค ธรรมอันชั้นลับซึ้งกิเลส. เป็นชื่อแห่งโลกุตตร
 ธรรมคู่กับผลมี ๔ ชั้นคือโสดาปัตติมรรค สกิทาคณิมรรค อนาคณิมรรค อรหัตตมรรค
 (13) บัณฑิต ไม่ดิริ (14) เทียงยอม แน่นนอน

ว่าอัน⁽¹⁾ จุน แด

พระยาเจ็ดคนนั้น ต่างคนต่างใครได้ชาติทั้งมวล ก็ผิดกับพระยามด
ทงหลาย⁽²⁾ หน แด ยังมีพราหมณ์ผู้หนึ่งชื่อว่า โทณพราหมณ์⁽³⁾ เป็นอา
จารย์แห่งท้าวพระยาแปดคนนั้นกล่าววาทะ “มหाराชทงหลาย บัพึงจะ
ผิดกัน เหตุชาติพระพุทธรเจ้าตนมีบุญและประกอบไปด้วยขันตเมตตากฎา
และว่าอัน⁽⁴⁾ แดวกรวางบ อันผิดกันแห่งพระยาผู้หนึ่งเสียแล้ว จึงขอแบ่ง⁽⁵⁾
นาฬาค้อนหนึ่งแล้ว จึงดวงชาติพระเจ้า แจกแก่พระยาทั้งแปดคนนั้นก็เป็น
แปดส่วนขอเด่มอกันแล้ว

พระยาทงหลายมีใจมจัน⁽⁶⁾ ยินดีแล้ว เอาชาติอันเป็นส่วนของตน
แล้ว ก็เมือ⁽⁷⁾ เมืองแห่งตน ก็หอธร้างเจดีย์⁽⁸⁾ ขึ้นงามในเมืองแห่งตน
ก็⁽⁹⁾ ชาติพระพุทธรเจ้าแล้วก็ให้วนบครบยา ปุจฉากการด้วยเครื่องบูชา
ทงหลายเป็นต้นวาบจายทั้งสี่ แด⁽¹⁰⁾

ถ้ารักชาติ ทงหลาย ผู้ขึ้นเกิดแต่ตน พระพุทธรเจ้า⁽¹¹⁾ นมีประมาณ แปด
โตนะ, โตนะ⁽¹¹⁾ แดอันมีประมาณ ๑๖ นาฬิ นาฬิแดอันมีประมาณ ๔ ตุม
ปะ, ตุมปะ⁽¹¹⁾ แดอันมีประมาณ ๘ กำมือ

(1) ว่าอันจุน (ต.) ว่าตักกันทุกคน (2) หั้น (ต.) นั้น (3) โทณพราหมณ์
พราหมณ์ผู้หัวหน้า, โทณมุข หัวหน้านักบวช ๔๐๐ ตัวยล (4) วักับ ะวั (5) แบ่ง
เต. ทำ (6) จมจัน (ต.) จมจัน (7) เมือลู่ กลับไปย (8) เจดีย์ เจดีย์
เม. ที่เลขพนับถือ (9) รุ บวร (10) ปัจจยทัฬหี เครื่องธาสัยของบรรพชิต ๔
อย่าง คือขันนุทน์, อาสน. ที่อาสน. บาแกใช้ (11) โตนะ (เม.) เครื่องตม มี ๔
อาพทก. ๓ อาพทกเท่ากับ ๔ นาฬิ (นาฬิ-พนาน)

ในโถงระชนม์ธาตุใหญ่ ๕ นาฬิ ธาตุปานกลาง ๕ นาฬิ ธาตุน้อย ๖
นาฬิจุณแด

ธาตุใหญ่มีประมาณสี่สิบนาฬิ ธาตุปานกลางมีประมาณสี่สิบนาฬิ ธาตุ
น้อยมีประมาณสี่สิบแปดนาฬิแด

ธาตุทั้งหมดยุคในโถงทั้งหลายแปดอันนั้น ประมวลรวมมาในท่อนเดียว
กัน มีประมาณร้อยชาว (1) แปดนาฬิแด

ประมาณแห่งธาตุพระพุทธรเจ้าของเรา ม้วนณ (2) ดงนี้ ธาตุอันใหญ่มี
ประมาณเท่าเม็ดถั่วกว้าง ธาตุอันปานกลางมีประมาณเท่าเม็ดข้าวสารหัก
เก้ง (3) ธาตุอันแควนน้อย (4) มีประมาณเท่าเม็ดพริกขี้หนู

วัดมี (5) แห่งธาตุมดงนี้ ธาตุอันใหญ่มีม้วนณดงคำ (6) ธาตุอันปานกลาง
มีม้วนณดงมูก (7) ธาตุอันน้อยมีม้วนณดงคอกแก้ว

พระเจ้าวรึกธาตุในคนพระพุทธรเจ้าอินทาวพระยาหากเผาดังอนกต จกต
แปด (8) หมัน (9) แดะเท่า กบมี ธาตุทั้งหลายทนม้วนณดงคำ ม้วนณดง
มูกถ้อยแด ธาตุทั้งหลายนั้นเป็นอันเรยรายไปในทิศานุทิศ (11) ทั้งหลายด้วย
ประการอันมากด้วยอชชฐาน (12) แห่งพระพุทธรเจ้าแด

ธาตุทั้งหลายพุ่งแปดอันคือ นตาธาตุ ลูกหน้าผากกต ธาตุลูกตามมด
ดองอนกต ทนต ธาตุเขยวแก้วดีเดิม กต ธาตุลูกคอกกต ยัง

(1) ร้อยชาว (๑) ร้อยยี่สิบ. ชาว-ยี่สิบ (2) ม้วนณ (๓) ความรวม แดะ ชนิด
ประมาณ กำหนด (๔) หักเก้ง หักเก้ง (๕) แควนน้อย อย่างน้อยน้อย (๖) วัดมี
แดะ แดะวัด (๗) คำ (๘) ทอคำ (๙) ทอ-ทอแดะ) ๖๑ ๖ (๗) มูก ทอชชนิด
ทนม (๘) แปด (๑) แปด (๑) (๙) หมัน ชี้เขยว (๑๐) เท่า ชี้เท่า (๑๑) ทิศานุทิศ
ในทิศน้อยใหญ่ (๑๒) อชชฐาน ความตั้งใจ ความจริงใจ (๑๓) ทนต พื้น (๑๔) เดิม (๑๕)
อัน ชี้.

บ๊วย (1) ยังเป็นแท่งค้อยแด

พระยาแก้วณคัง คนเป็นเจ้าเมืองดงกาทวี่ป เขาธาตุถูกหน้าผาก
พระพุทธรเจ้าไป ประดิษฐาน ไว้ ในฉะอุบ (2) คำใน ปราสาท คุ่ม (3) น้อย แห่ง
คนแด

ธาตุถูกค้ำมมัดเดิมหนึ่ง อยู่ในดาวดั่งดำ (4) อันเทวดาทรงหodayหากบูชา
ดักการ ธาตุถูกค้ำมมัดเดิมหนึ่งอยู่ในอุปรากรม (5) อันชาวดั่งกาหากบูชา
ดักการแด

เขม วทโย อันว่ามหาเถรเจ้าคนหนึ่งชื่อว่าเขมประกอบไปด้วยกรุณา
มั่งคั่งโยชน (6) ขรรณันต์แก้ว มีฉะหย้า (7) ก้นมากกถือเอาด้วยด้วยธาตุ
เขมวทโย (8) แห่งพระพุทธรเจ้าแต่เจ้าเชิงตะกอนมาไว้คู่บั้ง (9) แด

ทันตธาตุเดิมหนึ่ง พระยาหากกระทำดักการบูชา ทันตธาตุเดิมหนึ่งชาว
กันทร (10) หากกระทำดักการบูชา ทันตธาตุเดิมหนึ่งนาคทงหodayหากกระทำ
ดักการบูชา ทันตธาตุเดิมหนึ่งชาวดั่งกาหากกระทำดักการบูชาแด

ยังมีมหาเถรเจ้าคนหนึ่งชื่อว่าสระภู เป็นอันเตวาลิก (11) แห่งพระมหาสาร
บุศ (12) เถรเจ้า มีฤทธิ์มาก ได้ปฏิสัมภิทา (13) แล้วก็เอาธาตุถูกด้ายค้อยแห่ง

(1) บ๊วย บ๊วยไม้ละเอียบ (2) ฉะอุบ (ต.) ฉะอุบ. คล้ายมีฉะ มีบอด

(3) คุ่ม (ต.) วั (4) ดาวดั่งดำ คมดั่งสี. ชื่อ สวรรค์ชั้นที่ ๓ แห่ง สวรรค์ทั้ง ๗ ชั้น

(5) อุปรากรม อุป เจติย์ ที่บรรจุพระธาตุ (6) สโรชน (ม.) เครื่องพัวพันคือกิเลส ๓๐

อย่าง (7) ฉะหย้า ปญญา (8) ก้ำหั้น จั่มหั้น (ต.) (9) คู่บั้ง (ม.) คู่

บั้ง คู่ตุ้มผล คู่คำจุน (10) กันทร (กันทอน) ถ้ำ ขอกเขา (11) อันเตวาลิก ผู้อยู่

กับครู ศิษย์ (12) สธิบุศ ชื่อพระอัครสาวกฝ่ายขวาของพระพุทธเจ้า (13) ปฏิสัมภิทา

ปัญญาอันแตกฉาน ๔ อย่าง อมร. ขม. นิรุกติ. ปฏิภาณ.

พระพุทธเจ้า แต่เดิมาจึงตะกอน มักว่าแต่กองหลัว⁽¹⁾ มาประดิษฐานไว้ใน
กัณฐกะเจดีย์ ในมหายังคะเจดีย์แต่

ธาตุทั้งหลายต่างพ้อง⁽²⁾ ไปอยู่ในมณฑลประเทศ⁽³⁾ ด้วยอันควร ธาตุทั้ง
หลายต่างพ้องไปอยู่ปัจฉิมประเทศ⁽⁴⁾ เพื่อหอบเป็นสุขแก่คนผู้มก⁽⁵⁾ บุญ
ทั้งหลายแต่

ธาตุทั้งหลายต่างพ้องไปอยู่เมืองนาค ธาตุต่างพ้อง ไปอยู่สวรรค์เทว
โลก ธาตุต่างพ้องไปอยู่ในตังคา เพื่อเป็นหิตะสุขประโยชน์⁽⁶⁾ แก่นาค
และเทวดาและคนทั้งหลาย

ถ้า⁽⁷⁾ ธาตุแปดส่วนอัน โทณะพราหมณ์ หอบแก่ท้าวพระยาทั้งหลายแปด
คนนั้น พระยาอชาตศัตรูคนนั้นหอบนำมาคือว่านิมนต์มายังพระ
คนนั้นมาสู่เมืองราชคฤห์แห่งคนแห่

เมื่อพระพุทธเจ้าตนเป็นทเบง⁽⁸⁾ แก่โลก นิพพานไปแล้วสิ้นประมาณ ๘
ปี ๘ เดือน ๘ วัน พระยาอชาตศัตรูคนนั้นหอบนำมาคือว่านิมนต์มายังพระ
อรหันต์⁽⁹⁾ เจ้าทั้งหลาย มีพระมหากัสสป⁽¹⁰⁾ เสด็จเป็นต้นแล้ว พวกกันบูชา
พระธาตุเป็นอันมาก คือทานแก่พระอรหันต์เจ้าทั้งหลายก็มากนักแต่

(1) หลัว (เต) ฟัน (2) สหพ้อง (เต) ขาคน ขาอัน ขาอื่น ขาส่วน (3) มณฑล
ประเทศ ประเทศที่อยู่ระหว่างกลาง ดิออกันว่าอินเดีย (4) ปัจฉิมประเทศ ประเทศที่
อยู่ปลายเขตตหมายติอยู่นอกอินเดียกลาง (5) มก ชอบ พอใจ มก (6) หิตะ
ประโยชน์ ประโยชน์ เกื้อกูลแก่ความสุข หิต เกื้อกูล ประโยชน์ผลดี (7) ถ้า
ปุระ นัก มาก (8) เบง พัว (9) อรหันต์ ผู้สำเร็จพระนิพพาน (10) กัสสป
พุทธสาวก ผู้เป็นประธานในสังคายนาครั้งแรก

พระยาอชาตศัตรูคนมเหษยานันต์ คนเป็นใหญ่แก่ชาวเมืองราชคฤห์ก็บังเกิดใจเป็นกุศลฉันทจักหื้อสร้างแบ่งพระพุทธรูป ก็หื้อไปนำเขามายังหินพิมพ์การแต่มหาสมุทร

พระยาอชาตศัตรุหื้อสร้างพระแบ่งพระพุทธรูปคนนไปบิณฑบาตร ในเมืองหื้อแบ่งรูปเจ้าอนันต์ (1) ถือบาตร ย่นอยู่ข้างซ้าย

พระยาอชาตศัตรุหื้อแบ่งรูปข้างนาฬาคีรี นอนอยู่ข้างขวาเบงทองหื้อแบ่งรูปทั้งสามในหินก้อนเดียวกพนัน (2)

พุทธรูปพิมพ์หนึ่งสูงประมาณคืบปาย (3) ฉนวนมือขวา (4) รูปทั้งสามนั้นดวงขวา (5) มีประมาณคืบหนึ่งแตร

พระอรหันตเจ้าทั้งหลายก็ พระยาอชาตศัตรุก็ ก็เอาพระพุทธรูปเจ้ามาตงไว้เหนือแท่นแล้ว ก็เอาพระธาตุเจดดวงมาตงไว้ในภาชนะคำ ตงไว้ต้องหน้า พระพุทธรูปศิลาเจ้าแล้วก็ขยิฐานหื้อธาตุทั้งหลายเข้าอยู่ในตนพระพุทธรูปศิลาเจ้าแล้ว

ถ้าธาตุทั้งหลายเจดของกันนั้น ธาตุดวงหนึ่งเข้าไปอยู่ในหัวพระศิลาเจ้า ดวงหนึ่งเข้าไปอยู่ในหน้าผาก ดวงหนึ่งเข้าไปอยู่ในอก ต้องดวงนั้นเข้าไปอยู่ในใจอมบ่าทั้งสอง ต้องดวงเข้าไปอยู่หว่างหัวเข่าทั้งสองแล้ว

ในเมื่อธาตุเจดดวงนั้น และเข้าไปอยู่ในตนศิลาเจ้าตงอัน พระศิลาเจ้าก็เจดขึ้นไปสู่กลางหาฟอกระทำอิทธิฤทธิ์แล้ว ก็ตงมาตงอยู่เหนือแท่นเจ้าแล้ว

(1) อนันต์ อนันท์ ชื่อพระสาวกผู้ปฏิบัติภุมมะเจติ (2) นาฬาคีรี ชื่อ ช้าง ที่
มีปีกว่า นาฬาคีรี อันเป็นจอมพระยาอชาตศัตรุ (3) ปัพ (เต) เชน (4) มือขวาฝ่ายมือ
ส่วนขวา (5) ลมขวา (เต) ทนขวา (ลม-ทน) (6) ลือหน้า (เต) ตมหน้า
(ลือ-ตม)

พระยาธรรมาธิบดี^(๑) คนนั้นหอกกระทำที่ประดิษฐานพระศิวะเจ้าในเงอม
คอบที่สูง อันคนผู้ใดผู้หนึ่งบ่อาจเพิกจากเขาได้ แล้วหอกกระทำ
บูชาไว้ภายในของตาหัด

ฝ่าย^(๒) ดันนามหาเถรเจ้าทั้งหลายสามคนจะเดินไปในประเทศที่นั้น
เพื่อจากไหว้พระพุทธรูปเจ้าและธาตุทั้งหลาย ถ้าเถรเจ้าสามคนนั้นคนหนึ่ง
ชื่อว่าศีลวงโส คนหนึ่งชื่อว่าเรวตศ คนหนึ่งชื่อว่าญาณะคัมภีระ เถร
เจ้าทั้งหลายสามคนนั้นไปไหว้พระพุทธรูปและพระธาตุในทิศานุทิศน้อยใหญ่ในที่
นั้นๆ แล้วก็มาถึงเมืองราชคฤห์ ก็มาไหว้พระพุทธรูปศิวะเจ้า อันอยู่ใน
เงอมคอบที่นั้น เถรเจ้าทั้งหลายสามคน^(๓) เพื่อจากเขาพระศิวะเจ้า ก็เขาว่า
ดัง^(๔) ชาติ^(๕) สามนั้นซ้อนกันไปแล้วก็โถม^(๖) ยกยอคุณพระพุทธรูปเจ้าแล้วกระ
ทำอภิษฐาน^(๖) พระศิวะเจ้าว่าดังนี้

พระพุทธรูปเจ้าคนใดประกอบไปด้วยพระมหากรุณาในหมู่สัตว์ทั้งมวลและ
ประกอบไปด้วยดีพัตถิบุญตัญญาณ อันเป็นนัยเบญช^(๗) ธรรมทั้งมวล อัน
นำมาซึ่งทิศสุขประ โยชน์แก่โลกทั้งมวล เทียง ย่อมประจวบกับบุญจิระ
มารทำประการแล้ว เทียง ย่อมตั้งตั้งอันหือเวณยัตถิถึงอานุภาพเสด็จนิพ
พานธาตุ

(๑) ลีอม ดิน ฌิตดิน ทัม จัณน ชะโก ออกรม (๒) ฝ่าย (๓) ภาณหลั

(๔) ฌาณ (๕) ปะชณ (๖) ลัทธิ ฌาณุม กัณทนท ที่ พระใช้ท้าย บน จัณ

(๖) โถม โถมภาณ กชชเมช (๖) อชชณ ปะดะปาน นัยถิธ บูชา กช

ย่อนนัย (๗) เจือเจิญนิมิต ยัณนออน (๗) เบญช ธรรมคว ให โญนธรรมก็ได้

แล้ว ก็ตั้งตรงพระศิลาเจ้าด้วยนำหอม ด้วยเศฐ⁽¹⁾ พระพุทธรูปเจ้าห้าแผ่นดินใหญ่หนักก็ตกลงมาแห่

พระยาอนุราชมีใจยินดีนัก มักใคร่หื้อพระศิลาเจ้ากับเถรเจ้าทั้งสามอยู่ในเมืองอนุราชแห่งตน ก็หอนมนต์เถรเจ้าทั้งสาม เถรเจ้าทั้งสามกล่าววาทัน “พระศิลาเจ้ามักใคร่กระทำดังคะแก่ท้าวพระยาทั้งหลายเถ เราทั้งหลายจักนำเอาพระศิลาเจ้าคนนั้นไปสู่เมืองหริภุญไชย⁽²⁾ เพื่อหื้อเป็นหีตะสู่พระโยชนแก่คนฝูงมีบุญทั้งหลายแห่”

พระยาอนุราชได้ยินคำพระเถรเจ้าทั้งหลายกล่าวดังนั้น ก็บูชาพระศิลาแล้วจึงไปสู่สระเกาส่งไป เถรเจ้าทั้งหลายสามคนขึ้นสระเกาไปถึงท่ามกลางน้ำสมุทรหนึ่ง

ในเมื่อนำกันของชาวสระเกาส่งไปแล้วดังนั้น เถรเจ้าทั้งหลายก็หื้อตั้งพระพุทธรูปศิลาเจ้า ในขณะนั้นห้าแผ่นดินใหญ่ก็ตกลงมามากนัก คนในสระเกาจนถึงโคกนั้นหาหนแห่

ชาวสระเกาทั้งหลายจึงโคกนั้นหาแต่นมาคราบถึงฝั่งท่า⁽³⁾ นั้นแห่

พระมหาศีลวงษ์เถรเจ้าคนแก่นักเอาพระศิลาเจ้าไว้ในบาตรตนแล้วก็นำมา เถรเจ้าคนหนุ่มก็เปลี่ยนกันนำมาโดยลำดับ

พระมหาเถรเจ้าทั้งสามไปถึงเมืองละโว้ ก็หื้อตั้งพระศิลาเจ้า ในขณะนั้นห้าแผ่นดินใหญ่ก็ตกมามากนักแห่

พระยาละโว้เองผู้มโหฬารมีบิตได้มนต์ยานมา มักใคร่ได้พระศิลาเจ้าหนึ่งแห่ เถรเจ้าทั้งหลายก็กล่าวซึ่งพระยาด้วยนัยอันตนหากกล่าวแล้วแต่ก็อนันแห่

(1) เศฐ เศฐ (2) หริภุญไชย นครลำพูน (3) ฝั่งท่า (ค) ฝั่ง คลี

พระยาตะเขืองกนมนต์พระค้ดเจ้าเพอห้อยอยู่ในเมืองของตน เกรเจ้าทง
 ดำกับผ้าสังฆาฏีแล้วกนมนต์พระค้ดเจ้า ๆ ก็ส่งของ⁽¹⁾ ขึ้นสู่อากาศแล้วก็
 ลงมาสู่ผ้าสังฆาฏีเจ้าแห่

พระยาตะเขืองหันเป็น⁽²⁾ อักษรบริดงอัน กมบัต โดมนต์ ยันต์ แล้วก็ส่งเกร
 เจ้าทงดำไป พระมหาค้ดวังสะเจ้าก็เอาพระค้ดเจ้าไว้ในบาตรแล้วก็พา
 มาถึงเมืองด่ชานตย คือเมืองชะเลียง (คือสุวรรณโลก) หันแห่

พระยาชะเลียงกับฐาพระค้ดเจ้าแล้วกับฐาเกรเจ้าทงดำคน แล้วก็ส่ง
 ห้อมมา เกรเจ้าทงดำมาถึงเมืองนคร⁽³⁾ รวด⁽⁴⁾ เอาพระค้ดเจ้าไว้ในเมือง
 นครนั้นตั้งกาดนานนกกเบองหน้าเตนนมา ในเมื่อ ห่มนง ได้ไป ก็ในเมือง
 นคร เจ้าห่มนงห้อยคนมาไหว้ถามบอกว่าพระค้ดเจ้าแก่พระยาโลกค้ด
 ตกะ (คือพระเจ้าติโลกราช) พระเจ้าติโลกราช จึงห้อยไปนำเอาพระค้ด
 เจ้าคนนั้นมาไว้ในโรงอุโบสถวัดป่าแดงหลวง ในการเมื่อพระมหาญาณะ
 โทธิยอยู่วัดป่าแดงนั้นแห่

พระยาโลกค้ดตกะห้อยห่มผ้าปาเวียงตน เอาพระค้ดเจ้าไปห้อยแก่พระ
 มหาญาณะโทธิเจ้าแห่

พระมหาเถรญาณะโทธิเจ้า ก็ห้อยส่งพระค้ดเจ้าหันแด ในขณะยาม
 นั้นท่าฝนใหญ่ก็ตกลงมาหนักแห่

อำมาตย์ใหญ่ผู้หนึ่ง ชื่อว่าห่มนงารวมตกคิต สังฆการ⁽⁵⁾ นนหอยแบ่ง
 วิหาร เพอห้อยเป็นท้อยพระค้ดเจ้าในอาราม วัดห่มนงาร แล้ว ก็ไปนำเอา

(1) สบอ (เต) ผบอ เตะจีน ลอบจีน (2) หันเป็น เห็นเป็น (3) เมืองนคร
 จีรวัดลำปาง เขตล้านนา (4) รวด (เต) วิวไร เข่มวัดเดิบ (5) สังฆการี ผู้ที่ทาง
 สรร

พระคีตาเจ้ามาไว้ในวิหาร ⁽¹⁾ เพื่อจะหอรุ่งเรืองแก่คำสอนดี ๆ ไปพล
๕๐๐๐ พระวัดเจ้าแห่

พระมหาเจ้าคนเป็นสังฆปรินายก ⁽²⁾ ในวัดหมื่นสารคนชื่อ พุทธญาณ
ก็ได้อำนาจ ⁽³⁾ ส่วนดอกไม้นั้น นำเอาพระคีตาเจ้าไปบูชา ถัดการแล้ว
ฝ่ายลูกน้องเอาคนมาไว้ในวัดหมื่นสารตั้งเท่าเท่าแต่ เพื่อจะหอรุ่งเรืองแก่
คำสอนพระพุทธรูปเจ้าแต่

ในกาลบัดนี้พระยาคนประกอบพร้อมธรรมชื่อว่า โลกคิดถกะ (คือโลก
ราช) คนเป็นเจ้าหมายแก่นวบุรี ⁽⁴⁾ เชียงใหม่ ท่านมีวัด ⁽⁵⁾ ของเขา
แก่ด้วยคำ มีบุญมาก มีพระยาคนดัดหักแหลม ประจวบเข้าศึกทั้ง
หลายท่านก็ได้เป็นพระเจ้าแผ่นดินในเมื่องเชียงใหม่ล้านนาไทย หือตั้งใคร
ไฟตะคันก่ด้วยคนน้อยแต่คุ้มวังหลวงนั้นไป ครบด้วยเจ้า ⁽⁶⁾ ถึงวัดหมื่นสาร
นั้นแต่ ก็จึงไปนำเอาพระคีตาเจ้ามาไว้ในหอพระแก้วในคุ้มหลวงแห่งหนึ่งใน
บัดนี้ ⁽⁷⁾ กับข้าราชการมากนั้นก็ท้าวพระยาคนเป็นลูกหลานหลาน ก็
เที่ยงยอมบูชาถักการมากนั้นก็ครบถึงในกาลบัดนี้

ครั้งแรกคนมาพระยาธรรมมกราเจ้า ก็หือส่งพระคีตาเจ้าทุกปี ใน
กาลใดฝนตกก็หือส่งพระคีตาเจ้าในกาลนั้น ฝนก็ตกลงมามากนัก ผู้ใด
มีบุญญาและจากับ ⁽⁸⁾ บูชาพระคีตาตั้งอันกับมีเด็กคนแต่

พระคีตาเจ้าองค์นี้ ท้าวพระยาทุกเมื่อขึ้นกันมาครบถึงในวันนั้น
อันภาวระเคระอ์ก็จรรยหาทจากเปรียบเทียบได้แต่ ผู้มีพระยาคนดัง
การบูชามากนั้นก็

(1) วิหาร ที่ประดิษฐานพระพุทธรูปคู่กับโบสถ์ (2) ปวริชคน ผู้นำวิเศษ หัวแก้ว ผู้
เป็นใหญ่ (3) ก็นหัวดี (๓) ปกครองวัด (4) นมฺมิ เมืองใหม่ (5) วิหาร (วัดพระ)
นิลิตี ฆราวาส จำนวนมาก (๖) ลอยเจ้า (๓) ตลอด (๗) ปักัดเม็ด ปะเมียบ
(๘) บ่เอิบ (๓) ไม่บ่คิด

ในเมื่อพระคีตาเจ้าแถมมาอยู่ในหอพระแก้วเจ้าแล้ว ถึงเมื่อความนั้นพระ
คีตาเจ้าก็กระทำปาฏิหาริย์⁽¹⁾ ใหญ่ประมาณเท่าหมากพร้าว⁽²⁾ ไป ๆ มา ๆ
ด้วยหนทางอันใด ไคมะและต้นกล้วยต้นน้อยช้อรงนั้น ก็เป็นอันปรากฏแก่
คำคนทั้งหลายเห็น พระยาโลกคิลาละ กษัตริย์มณฑลเมืองเชียงใหม่นครหลวง
พระคีตาเจ้าแถมมากนั้นเห็น พระพุทธรูปคีตาเจ้ามีอายุมากแล้วเห็นมากนั้น
เห็น

คำไหว้พระคีตาเจ้าท่านแต่งสดกับตำนานผู้กล่าว “ คัดพิมพ์ ผู้รับ
อิทธิเดช มหาพุทธ โยเวพุทธ นมัสสันโต นิพพานได้ คมัสสันโต เตนะ
พุทธพิมพ์ ขัณฑนา มีดพุทธา ๖๓ บุคคลผู้ใดได้ถวาย ขาว
น้อมชดช้อย ไหว้พระพุทธรูปเจ้าเราทุกวันเห็น

ตำนานพระคีตาเจ้าผู้ทูลเรียนสืบเอา พระมหาโพธิ์ดงกาโรเจ้าห้อย
เขียนในใบกาฬ⁽⁴⁾ จุลศักราชได้ ๓๔๖๖ ปี (พระยาสืบหาศักราช) เดือน
๓๓ ออก ๑๔ คำว่าว่าไดวัน ๖ ยามแต่จากใกล้เที่ยง⁽⁵⁾ เมื่อสดกัดาราย
อยู่ในวัดเวียงป่าซางวันนั้นเห็น อันเป็นคำท่านผู้เขียนบอกไว้ที่ต้นตำนาน
นั้น

ข้าพระวุฒินาโณ (หม่น) ได้เคยเขียนสืบเอา เขียนแล้วเมื่อเดือน
มาฆะคือเดือนห้าเหนือ⁽⁶⁾ ออก ๓๓ ค่ำยามบ่าย ๓ โมงกลางวัน จุลศักราช
๓๒๘๔ ปี พุทธศักราช ๒๔๖๕ ปีวันนั้นเห็น

ตำนานพระคีตาเจ้าผู้ทูลเรียนสืบเอา ข้าพระมหาวุฒินาโณ (หม่น) ได้
พบตำนาน เมื่อพระภา โดยว่าบดงเจ้า จุลศักราชได้ ๓๒๘๓ ปี
คค⁽⁷⁾ กับพุทธศักราช ๒๔๖๔ ปี แล้วหาได้สืบหา กพบพระคีตาอยู่ทวด

(1) ปาฏิหาริย์ สัมผัสสังขาร (2) หมากพร้าว มะพร้าว (3) ลานขาม กวักข่ม
การลวด การทวน (4) ใบกาฬ ป่านะโม (5) ยามแต่จากใกล้เที่ยง (๖) เมื่อจวนจัก
เที่ยง (๗) เดือนห้าเหนือ เดือน ๓ (๗) คค (๘) บุคคลผู้ใด

เชียงใหม่เมืองเชียงใหม่ถูกตั้งตามตำนานบอกทุกประการ บัณฑิตแห่ง
 เมื่อได้ตำนานและพบพระคเณศวร ผู้มีศรัทธา (1) หลายคนเกิดความเลื่อม
 ใสได้สร้างเทวสถานหลายองค์ ในสักการสถานนั้นอุปาสกผู้หนึ่งชื่อว่า
 พระนายกคณานุการ (คือพระยาธำมลัง ๑ เสนาเชียงใหม่) ห้อยช้าง
 เขาส่ง (2) เด็ก พมพเจ้ากับพระคเณศวรห้อยช้างห่อ ห้อยธำมลัง
 คอมาถนบขอ โดย วาญเตาเต่า (4) รุ่งศักราช ๒๒๗๔ ตัว พระยาเด็ก
 ชาย ๑ เสนาเชียงใหม่ห้อยช้างขาว (5) ห้อยธำมลังคอกหนึ่ง เหมือน
 กับพระคเณศวรเจ้าบัลลังก์ใหม่ เทว่า (6) องค์เจ้าเป็นหินดีธรรมชาติแท้ องค์
 ใหม่เป็นหินดีด้าม (7) ผิดกันเท่านั้น ในสักการสถานนั้นกบฏทั้งหลายห้อย
 ช้างธำมลัง (8) องค์หนึ่ง องค์หนึ่งก่อกวนก่อกบฏกับองค์ใหม่ รวมทั้งเจ้า
 ทั้งใหม่พระคเณศวรเจ้าธำมลัง พระธรรมาทเหมือนพระคเณศวรเจ้าด้วย
 ของธำมลัง พระพุทธรูปธรรมาท (9) นกกระทาเทว (10) เมื่อพระไปบิณฑ
 บาตร ในเมืองราชคฤห์ เทวทศ ห้อยปลอยช้างนาฬาคีรีนคกมหรือได
 พระเจ้า มหาอานนตสังฆราชของท่านเพื่อพระเจ้าแล้ว เขารับหน้าช้าง
 ไว้จนบัด

(1) ศรัทธา ความเลื่อมใส (2) ช้าง (๓) ช้าง (๔) ไท
 ไทเดนิอ (๕) ช้างขาว ช้างดำ (๖) เทว่า (๗) สม (๘) รวมเจ้า
 ด้วยกัน ผสม (๙) แดง (๑๐) เดิม (๑๑) อภิบาลท ยาทาเคลื่อนไผ (๑๒) กระทำ
 กับใน ที่นี้ตนว่าพญาคเณศวร ไม่ใช้ปลอม (๑๓) เทวทศ พระญาติพุทธเจ้าเป็น
 ปู่ยี่กษัตริย์พระเจ้า

THE CHRONICLE OF THE STONE BUDDHA.

The funeral of Our Lord was celebrated by eight Princes in Kusinārai, the Prince of which laid claim to the remains. His claim was resisted by the remaining seven Princes who sent a letter to say they were building a *Stupa* to contain the bones which they asked should be delivered over to them.

A Brahmin who was the Teacher of all the eight Princes proclaimed it unseemly for them to wrangle over the Master's Bones. He had a measure made from a golden cocoanut shell which contained 32 handfulls. He then called for the Bones of Our Lord and distributed them equally in eight portions among the eight Princes.

They were all delighted and took back each his own share to his own country where it was deposited in Chetya made for the purpose.

Each of the eight portions of Our Lord's relics was what could be contained in sixteen cocoanut shells—being five shells of large bones, five of medium, and six of small bones.—There were thus in all forty shells of large bones, the same of medium bones, and forty-eight of small bones. The size of the large bones was equal to that of a bean; of the medium ones to that of half a grain of rice; of the small ones to that of a cabbage seed. The radiance of the large bones was as of gold; that of the medium ones as of pearl; that of the small ones as of a white flower. These eight portions of the relics spread their radiance over all four quarters of the compass.....(the distribution is described in detail). The portion allotted by the Brahmin to P'ya Achātāsātrū was conveyed by him to his kingdom of Rachakūt (Rachakāhā). Seven years seven months and seven days after our Lord Buddha's death he invited all the Bonzes to venerate the relics of our Lord's Bones, and he distributed alms.

P'ya Achātāsātrū, who was wise in the eyes of his people, formed the pious design of fashioning a statue of Buddha, and sent to the sea for stone for engraving.

He had the master depicted in the action of begging in the city accompanied by the Lord Ananda with a begging bowl on his left, with the elephant Nārakiri behind him on his right—all three figures on the same stone surface a span and four inches in height and a span in breadth.

P'ya Achātāsātrū and the Bonzes placed the image above the altar, after willing seven of the sacred relics in a gold receptacle to enter into the stone through a recess in the face of the Stone Buddha: one entered into the head; one into the forehead; one into the breast; two into the shoulders; and two between the knees—The Stone Buddha forthwith rose into the open air to show its power; it then returned to its place above the altar.

P'ya Achātāsātrū had a shrine made for the Stone Buddha on an eminence upon a high mountain out of reach of the covetous. Down below he set up a platform for the worshippers.

Silawangsó, Rewāṭṭa, Nyānākāṃip'on three "*Thera*" who were travelling from land to land worshiping the images and relics of Buddha came in the course of their travels to Rachakrūt and did reverence to the Stone Buddha on the Mountain Shrine.

Becoming desirous to obtain possession of the Stone Buddha, they spread out three yellow robes one upon another, and besought the Stone Buddha to come down to them. The Stone Buddha rose up in the air and descended upon the yellow robes spread out by the three *Thera*. They were overjoyed, and sent word of the happening by letter to P'ya Achātāsātrū—He, on receipt thereof, declared that if the will of the Stone Buddha was for sharing life in common with them, its departure was well; and he gave them permission to take away the Stone Buddha, if they had the power to do so.

The three *Thera* replied that they had this power. P'ya Achātāsātrū did homage to the Stone Buddha and to the three *Thera*: he then put them on board a ship in which they reached Ceylon. There they rested.

P'ya Anurāt'ā, knowing how the three *Thera* had carried off the Stone Buddha, caused an invitation to be sent to them. When he had done homage to the Stone Buddha and to *Thera*, and had lustrated the Stone Buddha with perfumed water, a great shower of rain fell. He was overjoyed, and desired that the Stone Buddha and the three *Thera* should remain in his land of Anurāt'ā. They replied that since the will of the Stone Buddha was to share life in common with them, they would take it to Harip'unchai to be of service to a great number of merit makers. Having heard their words, and having done homage to the Stone Buddha, P'ya Anurāt'ā took the three *Thera* down to the boat in which he despatched them.

When they reached mid-ocean their drinking water gave out.

Whereupon they poured water upon the Stone Buddha, and straightway a heavy shower of rain fell supplying drinking water for those in the boat until they reached shore.

On disembarking, Silawongsò, the elder *Thera*, placed the Stone Buddha in his begging bowl, and carried it in turn with the younger *Thera*.

Upon reaching Lakhūng, the three *Thera* bathed the Stone Buddha, following which there was a great downpour of rain. The worthy Prince of Lakhūng greatly desired the Stone Buddha, and invited it to take up its abode in his kingdom. The three *Thera* met the request in the same way as they had already met a similar one. They spread out their robes on the ground and uttered an invitation to the Stone Buddha who soared up into the air and descended upon the robes.

Seeing that the decision was against him, the Prince of Lakhūng gladly sent the three *Thera* upon their way. Silawongsò took the Stone Buddha in his begging bowl and proceeded to Sachanalai, which is Chalieng, or Sawankalok.

The Prince of Chalieng did homage to the Stone Buddha and to the three *Thera*, and sent them on their way. They arrived at Muang Nakôn and deposited the Stone Buddha there, where it remained for a long time.

When Mūn Dong came and took over the governance of Muang Nakôn he sent to tell P'ya Tīlōk (Tīlōkarāt) of the Stone Buddha. Tīlōk then sent and brought the Stone Buddha to Wat Padēng Mang in which it was deposited at the time when P'ra Mahāyānap'otē' was Abbot. The Abbot bathed the Stone Buddha; and straightway a great shower of rain came down.

A certain leader, Mūn Nangsū Vimala Kitit had a shrine built as a dwelling for the Stone Buddha in Wat Mūn Sān. He brought the Stone Buddha to that temple to be a shining light to the Faithful for 5000 years.

Put'tagan, the Abbot of Wat Mūn Sān, on being translated to Wat Suan Dōk, took the Stone Buddha with him, but subsequently had it restored to Wat Mūn Sān, where it was to remain as a shining beacon to the Faithful.

Tīlōk, the righteous, having vanquished all his enemies, became king of Chiengmai in the Lāmat'ai. He had illuminations set up on Banana and Sugar Cane stems all the way between his palace and

Wat Mûn Săn. He then went and took the Stone Buddha and placed it in the sanctuary at his Palace in the year *kat mét*. His great grandchildren and descendants up to the present day have venerated the Stone Buddha.

From the beginning onwards, in any year when there was a shortage of water, the Ruler had the Stone Buddha lustrated, and rain then fell in abundance.

THE STATEMENT OF KHUN LUANG HA WAT

translated by

H. S. H. PRINCE VIVADHANAJAYA

FOREWORD

Four hundred and seventeen years after its foundation, the city of Ayudhya fell for the second time before the Burmese invaders. The ex-King Udumbara, better known to us as Khun Luang Ha Wat, who had previously abdicated and taken refuge in a monastery, was led away captive by these alien conquerors, together with many members of the royal family and others. The Burmese, after the manner of those days, questioned their prisoners as to the history, custom and administration of the conquered nation. The result of this comprehensive examination was written down by those who conducted the enquiry; and there exists to-day, in the Government library at Rangoon, a volume containing the statements of those noble and garrulous captives, who appeared to have been glad of a listener.

A translation into the Mon language was made at one time or another; and the Siamese version, known as the "Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat", is a translation from the Mon. It relates the story of the Kings of Ayudhya, from the date of the capture of that city by the Burmese in A. D. 1569, down to its fall nearly two hundred years later, again at the hands of these self same foes.

Needless to say, the "Statement" contains many inaccuracies and errors; for the captives had nothing to consult but their own memory, which, fortunately for us, appeared to have been retentive. The examination moreover was probably conducted through an interpreter, and the results compiled by Burmese scribes who knew little of the alien country which their compatriots had managed to conquer. Nevertheless faithful scribes they must have been, judging at least

from the Siamese version; for the result of their labour is certainly not a "history", but reads like a dictation freely given at intervals. There is but little trace of editing, for the "Statement" repeats itself without scruple.

Chronicles of olden days are read, I take it, not only for the facts, but also for the spirit; for often they take us back pleasantly to those far off days of forgotten things. A free translation into the language of modernity would deprive such works of this latter quality. I have therefore endeavoured to present a version that shall follow the Siamese original as closely as possible, without, I hope, ceasing to be genuinely English; and also to create an illusion of the past by avoiding, in so far as is in my ability, anything that possesses too modern a ring. Should this English version be found deplorable, the fault is mine; for the "Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat" does not lack of the vivid and picturesque.

September 1935.

THE STATEMENT OF KHUN LUANG HA WAT.

[REIGN OF KING MAHINDRA]

The King of *Hamsāvati* led away only those who were men of virtue. Upon *Phya Cakrī* were bestowed large rewards; and he was raised to a rank higher than that which he had held before, seeing that he had deserved well of the King. And after he had been well cared for full seven days, the King of *Hamsāvati* did order that his head be cut off and impaled in the middle of the town, in accordance with precedent sentences of the law. Thereafter the King summoned to *Hamsāvati* King *Mahindra*, son of King *Mahā Cakravartī*, Princess *Suvarṇa Kalyā*, elder sister to Prince *Nareṣvara*, and Prince *Nareṣvara* himself, who was a son of Prince *Sudharmarāja*. Prince *Ekādaśaratha* was suffered to remain in company with his father. And these did the King take with him, namely, all the five white elephants, divers craftsmen who were skilled in great works of art, five hundred able-bodied boatmen picked from those who were adepts, and the largest elephants that could be chosen from among those that existed. And in the monastery of *Çrī Sarvajña* were the bronze images of the twelve animals and of a human being in the shape of a *Brahman*, that King *U-Tong* had caused to be casted in moulds made by *Brahmin* craftsmen after the foundation of the city. The images were those of the elephant *Airāvata*, the horse of *Sindh*, the *gaja-siha*, the king of lions, the *nara-simha*, the lion, the ox, the buffalo, the wild ox, the swan, the pea-cock and the crane. Two images of each such animals had been presented by King *U-Tong* to the monastery of *Çrī Sarvajña*. These images took the fancy of the King of *Hamsāvati*, who chose and carried away such as were pleasing to him, namely, the images of the elephant *Airāvata*, the horse of *Sindh*, the king of lions, the *gaja-siha*, the lion and the human being; and he took not aught besides these. And the King of *Hamsāvati* did build a stupa in the plain of the *Golden*

Mount, naming it the *Sacred Golden Mount*; and a magnificent festival was held in celebration thereof. Thereafter the King led his army away.

And whilst they were upon the journey, King *Mahindri* showed not gentry, but bore himself as the king of lions; and dreading naught, he conversed in such fearless manner that the *Peguans* seized upon his astonishing words and acquainted the King of *Hamsāvati* thereof. The King forthwith commanded that he be put to death and dropped heavily weighted into the river in front of the town of *Sittang*.

[REIGN OF KING SUDHARMARĀJĀ.]

And upon arrival in *Hamsāvati*, the King kept the sister of Prince *Nareçvara* in the royal palace and made her his consort; and a son was born to them. To Prince *Nareçvara* was given a residence that befitted his rank. The King loved him as if he were a son and cared for him till he grew into manhood.

Prince *Sudharmarājā* came to reign in the city of *Ayudhyā* on Wednesday of the year nine hundred and twenty five of the Little Era, (A. D. 1563). His age was then twenty; and having ruled for fifteen years, he passed away at the age of thirty five. The year of his death was nine hundred and forty of the Little Era, (A. D. 1578).

[REIGN OF KING NAREÇVARA.]

The younger son, whose name was Prince *Ekādaçaratha*, took the reins of government in his father's stead; but, seeing that his elder brother, Prince *Nareçvara*, was still alive, he would have no coronation but took unto himself only the title of *Mahā Uparājā*, Regent of the city. And because of his great love for his elder brother, he carried on the administration and guarded the city and its dependencies in the name of that brother pending his return.

And after some while tidings came to the ears of the King of *Hamsāvati* that there was, in a large town of *Burma* that was called *Ya-Khai*, an image of the Lord *Buddha* that was made in those days when He was upon this earth. It was said that the image was possessed of great powers; that it could cast its rays in miraculous wise; and that if aught were desired such could be obtained by prayers directed to this image, so great was the power wherewith it was endowed. And so deep-rooted was the faith of the King in this image that he caused the preparation of many oblations of gold, namely, sacerdotal robes, candles and incense sticks, rice and flowers, and

divers umbrellas and banners; and to these were added the images that the King had brought from *Ayudhyā*, that is, the images of a human being, the elephant *Airāvata*, the horse of *Sindh*, the king of lions, the *gaja-siha*, the *narasimha*, the lion, the *garuḍa* and the ox. These images and the other numerous gifts did the King *Haṃsāvati* dedicate unto the Lord; and after having honoured them with solemn rites, he poured out the water that betokened these offerings and placed them in charge of his councillors, who were to convey them in a vessel for presentation to the holy image. And this took place in the year nine hundred and thirty, (A. D. 1568).

One day Prince *Nareṇvara* was summoned by the King into the palace; and as the Prince, who was doing the King's behest, stepped upon the principal royal pavilion, lo that pavilion did quake and tremble. This miracle was perceived by the soldiers and they acquainted the King thereof. The King thereupon foretold that in years hence would the *Peguans* of *Haṃsāvati* be compelled to cut grass for the elephants of Siam; and he said no more thereanent. Prince *Nareṇvara* returned to his residence after the audience.

Once Prince *Nareṇvara* was minded to cast an image of the Lord *Buddha*; and, having summoned a craftsman, he desired him to cast the image in the Siamese fashion. A monastery was built and the image was placed therein. This image of the Lord is still in existence to this day, though the title given to it is unknown.

Now there was great love between Prince *Nareṇvara* and Prince *Putumarāja* who was *Mahā Uparājā* of *Haṃsāvati*. They were as if brothers born of the same parents; neither took exception to the other; they conversed and consulted together and cock-fighting was the game in which they were wont to indulge. Prince *Nareṇvara* was ten years of age when he went from Siam, and had sojourned in *Haṃsāvati* for five years when there came an incident, the consequences whereof were far reaching. At a cock-fight between Prince *Nareṇvara* and the *Uparājā* the cock of the latter was defeated, bringing upon its owner both shame and resentment. The *Uparājā* seized the shoulders of Prince *Nareṇvara* and shook them as if in play, saying that even the cock of a captive could defeat his own. Prince *Nareṇvara*, realizing that this public insult was thrown at him because he was an alien, controlled his wrath and merely replied in the same vein, saying that his cock was worth the value of a town. But anger and resentment did he feel from that day; and, thinking

that he too was a man, was minded to return to the *Mahā Uparājā* his due. Thereafter he began to look for followers; and many hunters, who were right brave and worthy men, did give themselves unto him and presented him with an elephant that was named *Maṅgala Gaja*, a valiant animal with powerful tusks and fleet of foot. Having gathered together his men, the Prince sent a letter privily to his sister, saying that he would escape to his own city. Fearing that the King of *Hamsāvati* would hear of her brother's intent, and well knowing that success in the venture meant safety, whilst failure would bring death upon them both, the Princess bade him do as he desired and to have no anxiety on her account. And she gave him her blessings and prayed that he escaped the hands of his foes. When Prince *Nareçvara* heard the words of his sister, his heart was filled with sorrow; for full well did he know that, having made all preparations, withdrawal from this adventure would mean certain death when things became known. Necessity drove him away and no choice had he but to leave his sister. The time for departure was fixed with his hunters and men who numbered over six hundred, and together they escaped from *Hamsāvati* at nightfall. Many *Mons* and *Laos* did the Prince take with him, and the total number of his followers came to nine thousand. They journeyed by the route that led to *Sittang* and *Martaban*, and, crossing the river, came to *Adran* and *Sami* and hurried thence to the *Three Pagodas*. Upon arrival at a branch road they halted in a plain to await the enemy.

Confusion arose among the *Mons* and tidings of the flight were brought to the *Mahā Uparājā*, who thereupon entered into the palace, saying to his father: "Prince *Nareçvara* has escaped with his men, and fain would I follow and capture this foe". And the King replied: "Valiant and able is Prince *Nareçvara*; destined is he to become a great hero of this our world. This very pavilion did tremble and quake upon his entrance one day. Be not too rash, o son, for mightier will he be than the *Mahā Uparājā*. Even the *Mons* of *Hamsāvati* will one day be compelled to feed the elephants of *Ayudhyā*. Follow him not, my son, but heed the voice of thy father; for disregard of these my words may bring a great war upon us all". The *Mahā Uparājā* disagreed with his father and heeded not his words, saying that Prince *Nareçvara* had been a captive in their hands; and he would be no man, who suffered a prisoner's insult to pass unavenged. The King of *Hamsāvati* complied with the wishes of his

son and warned his chief councillors, saying: "My son is going forth to war; see ye that he suffers no harm. Death would come to you and all those that are yours, were any evil to befall my son". Having levied a host of one hundred thousand men, the *Mahā Uparājā* moved forth with speed and came upon the fugitives in a large forest in the district of the *Three Pagodas*. Fierce raged the flight, and Prince *Nareçvara* had perforce to retreat before the overwhelming number of the host of *Hamsāvati*. The *Mons* gave chase and the Siamese retired fighting into the forest. And now Prince *Nareçvara* commanded the six hundred valiant and worthy men, who had been his followers from the beginning, to place their elephants and men in due battle array, saying that he would at once lead them to the assault. The Prince then adorned himself and stood upon the scaffolding to which was tied his elephant, with a driver ready upon its back. And, seeing that he was destined to become a refuge for men, many signs of happy augury did come to pass before the eyes of all. For, miraculous to relate, a deep shadow did surround the sun that was blazing at mid-day, and afforded the Prince a shade from the rays that fell upon all; a relic of the Lord *Buddha*, possessed of a glorious aureole of light, came moving through the air past the royal pavilion in miraculous wise. Perceiving that the moment was one that augured a great victory, the Prince let loose his elephant and went forth towards the foe. Seated with him on the back of that elephant were two drivers, and surrounding him were only four men-at-arms; for the others had failed to keep up with the speed of his mount. His elephant charged the enemy who fled helter-skelter; some fell dead or hurt, others hid themselves in the forest. Confusion arose among the *Peguans*, and some bowed their heads in surrender, whilst others were killed or put to flight. The elephant was driven further forward and trampled down the camp of the enemy. Those Peguan soldiers who were men of courage did defend themselves with swords, guns and cannons that darkened the forest with their fumes. The Prince assaulted the stronghold of Prince *Padumarājā*, destroyed the camps of both the right and left wing and put the hostile van and rear guards to flight. Many times did the *Mons* rally against him, only to be beaten back by the Prince. And only when his elephant was tired out did he return to his own camp. And, wondrous to relate, the two drivers suffered no hurt, neither did any harm

befall the elephant or the men-at-arms, covered as they were with Peguan blood.

When tidings of the Prince's return were brought to *Ayudhaya*, Prince *Ekādaçaratha*, his younger brother, did gather together an army in order to go to his succour. Provisions were sent in advance, seeing that these were urgently needed; whilst the Prince himself followed with good speed. Those who carried the provisions lost their way and were captured by the *Mons*. Prince *Ekādaçaratha* met his beloved brother at a place named *Len-tæ-khao-nam*; and both their hearts were filled with great joy. The younger brother did obeisance at the feet of his elder brother who forthwith embraced him; and both felt exceeding happiness and joy. Having enquired after his sister and learnt of all that had passed, Prince *Ekādaçaratha* forthwith offered to go and give battle. And Prince *Nareçvara* said to him: "Beloved brother, thou art still too young. An exceeding brave man is *Padumarāja*, and older is he than thou. My task it is to destroy this *Mahā Uparāja*. But let thy men come to succour mine, seeing that they are exceeding wearied". And having said this he arranged his men in battle array; left and right wings there were, a rear-guard and reserves in serried rank, reinforced as they were by those who had recently come. When all preparations had been made, the two Princes mounted upon their elephants, and, standing in the midst of their men, gave the signal for the assault. Cheers were raised to inspire courage, and the sound of victory gongs and drums filled the whole vast forest. A fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued, with the Peguan van-guard fighting well against those who assaulted them. Prince *Nareçvara* drove his elephant to the charge, and, when the opposing animal turned to flee, the Prince felled it with a stroke of his driving hook. Prince *Ekādaçaratha* charged after a Peguan soldier who turned round against him, and there followed a fierce combat. The Prince struck his Peguan foe with his lance and felled him from his elephant. Thereafter the elephants of the two Princes broke into the hostile camp; numerous were the *Mons* who were either killed or put to flight. And now the *Mahā Uparāja*, perceiving the elephant of Prince *Nareçvara* in front of him, seized a missile wherewith to sling at his foe. Thereupon did Prince *Nareçvara* exclaim with a smile: "Hearken, O *Uparāja*! A scion of a royal stock art thou, and a scion of a kingly race am I. Childish it is for us to

sling such missiles; for it behoves us to fight upon our elephants, that all these men may see and take delight therein. It is not meet that all these soldiers and people should die because of thou and I. Fitting it is for us, men and descendants of Kings, to fight upon our elephants in single combat; for in future years no king will there be to engage in similar contest". With these words the *Mahā Uparājā* agreed, saying: "What thou hast said is pleasing to me". And, having said these words, the two Princes commanded their soldiers to cease from strife and to stand facing each other to their left and right. Both sides fixed their banner into the ground; the victory gongs and drums were struck; and the soldiers engaged in war-like dance. Prince *Nareçvara* and the *Mahā Uparājā* drove their elephant to the charge, the one against the other; and they fought with their long-handled sword in true and proper style, the one striking and the other parrying, each in his turn. The elephant of Prince *Nareçvara*, being the smaller of the two, backed away from the other; and with his weapon the *Mahā Uparājā* struck at the Prince. Deftly did the latter avoid the blow, and the sword struck his leather cap, making a dent of four inches therein. And, as it was backing, the elephant of Prince *Nareçvara* found a footing by a *Pātsā* tree; and, pushing there-against with its hind-legs, it gave a sudden thrust at the chin of the *Mahā Uparājā's* animal, which thereupon made a turn. This opportunity did Prince *Nareçvara* seize, and, striking with his long-handled sword, that was named *Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand*, he severed the head of *Mahā Uparājā* who was seated upon the neck of his elephant. The spot whereon this victory was won became known as the *Swamp of the Pushing Legs* and the *Thrust of the Pātsā Tree*; it is still in existence even to this day. And now the Siamese gave three victorious cheers that filled the forest with their loud echoes, whilst the *Mons* bowed their heads and did obeisance to the victor. Prince *Nareçvara* drew his elephant into their midst, and, summoning the leaders of the *Mons* to him by a gesture of his arm, thus said: "Hearken ye, o leaders and soldiers of *Pegu*. To *Hamsāvati* may ye all return; no captives do I desire, for such is the promise given under the rules of war. Well do ye know of the friendship that was between the *Mahā Uparājā* and I; and yet insults did he heap upon me. A little captive prince was I called. Nay more, even my shoulders did he shake. I was born a man such as he, and yet he took me for a slave. Such was the cause of my

anger and such the origin of my desire for this our duel. And now am I satisfied, seeing that he has died by my hands. Hence do I return to *Ayudhyā*, the city that is mine own. Go ye, and take this my message to the King of *Hamsāvati*." Having said these words, Prince *Nareçvara* led his force to *Ayudhyā*.

The *Mons* carried the body of the *Mahā Uparājā* back to *Hamsāvati*, and their leaders acquainted the King of the combat between the *Mahā Uparājā* and Prince *Nareçvara* and of the manner wherein the former was slain. The King listened not to all that they had to say, but forthwith commanded the executioner to put to death all those *Mon* leaders, together with their parents, grand-parents, children and grand-children; and their bodies were to be impaled upon stakes and burnt as offerings to the gods. All these commands were duly carried out by the executioner. And so great was the fury of the King that, when he returned to his chambers and perceived the sister of Prince *Nareçvara* in her bed and suckling her child, he struck and killed both mother and son with his sword. So hasty was his temper that there was no time to soothe him down.

Prince *Nareçvara* arrived at *Ayudhyā* and entered into the royal residence. And the chief ministers of state together with the *Brahmān* teachers did perform the coronation ceremony that was due to a victorious warrior; and having besought the Prince to assume the royal possessions, they tendered unto him the realm, the five royal regalia, the five weapons of war and all the other royal utensils. And they presented him with his style and title, inscribed upon a tablet of gold. Thereafter the ladies of the palace presented him with his Queen, and her name was *Mañi Ratna*; and were also brought to him other wives and hand-maids. King *Nareçvara* thus commenced his reign in the year nine hundred and fifty two, (A. D. 1590). Prince *Ekādagaratha* was created *Mahā Uparājā*. King *Nareçvara* was most virtuous, possessed of great courage, power and might, and endowed with superior ability and perseverance. He repaired the city and built a new wall upon the bank of the river surrounding *Ayudhyā*. And he caused an image of the Lord *Buddha* to be casted in brass; its seat was about three feet in length. He gave it the name of *Parama Trailokanātha* and placed it at the *Phrāḥ Nang Cœng* monastery, which was built by *Mon* craftsmen in their own style, *Phrāḥ Nang Cœng* being the name known to the *Mons*. This monastery is situated to the south of the city. The King

called together those soldiers and men who had accompanied him from *Hamsāvati* and who had deserved well of him. Rewards were given to all leaders and men; some were promoted in rank, and titles were bestowed upon all; for those soldiers had fought as if they were giants and were feared in all cities old and new. The long-handled sword, that was used both to kill the *Mahā Uparājā* and against the hundred thousand foes, was named *Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand*; the weapon wherewith he felled the Peguan elephant was called the *Hook that felled the Elephant*; and the weapon which he held by his teeth while climbing into a hostile stronghold was named the *Sword that climbed the Stroughold*. These three weapons, together with the cap that bore the mark of a blow, were kept in the city until its fall. The elephant that was his mount when he overcame the *Uparājā* was named *Chao Phya Jayanubhā-m*, and a truly great elephant it was. The swamp wherein lay the place against which this elephant did support its legs was called the *Swamp of the Pushing Legs*; this swamp still exists and is known by such name even to this day. And the spot whereon grew the *Pātsā* tree was named the *Pātsa Thrust*; and this too can be seen even to this day.

Some time thereafter King *Nareçvara* gathered together a large number of soldiers, elephants, mercenaries and arms; and he went forth to war against divers towns, great and small. He battled against the Laos of the Northern towns, namely, *Lanchung*, *Chieng-māi*, *Chiengtūng*, *Chiengsæn* and *Chāmpasāk(tī)*. And to the South also did he lead his army and fought against those of the towns of *Nāk'on*, *O'āiya*, *Pātani*, *Sōngkhla* and even as far as the island of *Riek*, that was *Javanese* territory. And besides these towns he also captured many others, great and small. After these conquests, the King re-organized his army; he set up the ten groups of warriors, the four forces, the royal body-guards and gentlemen-at-arms and the six mercenary forces, that consisted of *Japanese*, *Chams* and others. And troops of elephants there were, and banners and the standards of the *Monkey* and the *Garuda*, the *Umbrella* and other regalia, all in accordance with the *Treatise of the Art of War*. And when these preparations had been made, the elephants were placed in due order; namely, elephants that were to form the principal and reserve mounts of the King, elephants from the palace and other stables, elephants that were on his left and his

right, elephants for use in assault and in defence, elephants carrying men with javelins and spears. All these elephants bore different names and were decked with ornaments that distinguished each from all the others. Males and females they were, and one and all carried on their back shields, swords, spears, javelins and guns big and small. And upon each elephant were three mahouts all with arms. And horses too there were; namely, horses that were the principal and reserve royal mounts, horses from the palace stables and others, horses that were on the left and the right of him, horses of the mercenaries who wore metal armour, horses with men armed with lances and spears. Their riders wore a cap and a coat that were designed for war, and were armed with lances, bows, javelins and shields. Next came soldiers who rode in chariots; and divers kinds there were, namely, chariots for assault and chariots for defence, chariots with men carrying swords and spears. Then came the foot soldiers, bearing divers arms. Cannoneers there were and all were *French* (sic), fully armed. And leaders were appointed to take charge of the supplies and to command the left wing, the right wing, the van-guard, the rear-guard, the first reserves, the second reserves, the scouts and spies. Four hundred thousand was the total number of men-at-arms. Prince *Ekādaçaratha* was in charge of the van, and of the main army did King *Nareçvara* himself take command. Their intent it was to attack *Hamsāvati*. They journeyed by the route that led to *Viṣṇuloka*; and, having called a halt in a forest, they performed the ceremony of felling a tree that represented the foe, all in accordance with the *Treatise of the Art of War*. And when they arrived before the town of *Reo* an attack was launched against the *Laos* thereof. The *Laos* sallied forth from the town, and, having pitched a camp that was strongly fortified, they fought right well against the Siamese in the open plain. The siege lasted many days, for the *Laos* of another town had come to the succour of their friends; and fierce were the battles that took place. King *Nareçvara* pressed his men to the assault, and, carrying his sword with his teeth, he climbed the palisades that surrounded the stronghold of the enemy, followed by Prince *Ekādaçaratha* and others. Thus they entered into the camp of the *Laos*, all of whom were either killed or put to flight. Having taken the two *Lao* towns, the King went forth against the town of *Kong Sri Lalai*, and this he captured with ease. Thereafter he went against the *Laos* of the city of *Hang* who were unable to resist and

took to flight. Very ancient is the hilly city of *Hang*, seeing that it was in existence at the same time as *Pātaliputra* and was possessed of a hundred generations of Kings. On the top of its hill, that before establishment of the Faith and the Three Gems was called *Rung Rung* hill, was a foot-print of the Lord *Buddha*. King *Nareçvara* made a ceremonial entry into the city to the greater glory of his power, and went to worship at the foot-print of the Lord. He took off his robes and his golden chain and placed them upon the print as his oblations. And other offerings did he also make, namely, candles, incense sticks, rice, flowers, banners and divers other things. A consecration ceremony was held lasting full seven nights. Thereafter was the *Mahā Uparājā* sent forth to *Hamsāvati* in advance, whilst King *Nareçvara* himself still sojourned in *Hang*, making of this city his resting place, wherefore did he become known as the *Nārāyaṇa* of *Hang*. And when all the ceremonies had been completed, the King mounted upon the elephant that was named *Suvarṇa Pristhaka* and made his way towards *Hamsāvati*. Having journeyed for full seven days, the King arrived before a hill that was green with *Ta-kien* trees, close to one of which was the chapel of a deity that was possessed of great power and might. The councillors of the King besought him to descend from his mount; but, since it had been decreed that a calamity would befall him, it so happened that the King enquired of them as to whether the deity was a god or a goddess. To this the councillors replied that the deity was a goddess that was possessed of great power and might. And the King said: "Since the deity is merely a goddess, possible it is for her to be my consort; I descend not from my elephant". With these words he rode past the chapel; and, lo, a wasp was seen coming straight at the elephant. Stung upon the forehead by this wasp, the King fainted upon the back of his mount and passed away in front of the hill. His body was carried back by the councillors to the pavilion at *Hang*.

Meanwhile Prince *Ekādagaratha* had arrived close to *Hamsāvati*, and, having taken many Mon captives, men and women, he was preparing to assault the city when a messenger who had travelled posthaste brought tidings of the death of the King. Having been acquainted thereof, the Prince returned speedily to *Hang* with his army; and, entering into the chamber wherein lay his brother, he embraced his feet and wept in bitter grief. Three times did the

Prince faint away whilst embracing and bemoaning the loss of his brother. And when he had recovered full consciousness, he commanded that the body be put in a golden urn and placed upon a chariot. A grand royal procession accompanied the body back to *Ayudhyā*. The Prince ordered the building of a great golden pyre and a magnificent cremation of the body of the late King. The ceremony had never before been surpassed in splendour; and innumerable were the gifts that were made. The body was conveyed to the *Sōp Sāvān* monastery in a grand procession and was cremated thereat before a large assembly of rulers of cities great and small.

King *Nareçvara* had come to the throne on thursday of the year nine hundred and sixty of the Little Era, (A. D. 1598), at the age of fifteen. He had reigned for twenty years and passed away at the age of thirty five. The year of his death was the nine hundred and eightieth of the Little Era, (A. D. 1618).

[REIGN OF KING EKĀDAÇARATHA].

After the death of King *Nareçvara*, Prince *Ekādaçaratha* ruled over the city in his stead. A coronation ceremony was held, and the King took unto himself a Queen whose name was *Sevastī*. A monastery was built at the place where King *Nareçvara* had been cremated; this monastery was named *Sōp Sāvān*. And another monastery did the King also build in a garden to the memory of his brother, and this he named *Varajesthārama*. An area of land was presented to this monastery and the gift inscribed upon a tablet of stone. Rewards were given to all the soldiers and even to their wife and children, all in accordance with the rank which they held. And upon the original five hundred followers of King *Nareçvara* were bestowed extra rewards consisting of cattle, buffaloes, land, houses and slaves male and female. And were issued letters patent under the seal of the *King of Lions* granting them exemption from payment of all taxes and dues that were collected from goods in transit, and from payment of fines that were imposed upon those who had been convicted in a court of law. In bestowing all these rewards the King exceeded not the commands of his late brother. From this time hence there were numerous *Mons* and *Laos* in *Ayudhyā*; many were employed in the service of the King and were made to feed the elephants, both in and outside the city,—this being the first time that they were put to such task. Innumerable were the captive *Mons* and *Laos*, for they had been taken by King *Nareçvara*.

from all cities and towns; their large number dated from his days. In those days was *Ayudhya* mighty and powerful, far and wide spread its fame. King *Ekādaçaratha* caused to be casted an image of the Lord *Buddha* which he named *Çri Sarvañña*. The height of this image was about twenty-nine feet; it was made of tin and covered with gold that weighed one hundred and seventy three catties, in so far as memory can tell. A statue of his brother, King *Nareçvara*, was also made and placed in the principal armoury. The King then built a pavilion which he named *Paryāṅka Ratnāçana*, and surrounding this pavilion a canal was made. And were built the monasteries of *Rājpuraṇa* and *Bodhārāma*; the former was situated inside the city to the south-east of the royal palace, the later outside the city and north-west thereof. And there was build at the monastery of *Kuṭi Dao*, that was outside and east of the city, a stupa that was named *Mahā Gārā Cetiya*. Great was the love of King *Ekādaçaratha* for his brother, King *Nareçvara*. The sword that King *Nareçvara* held with his teeth on the day that he climbed the enemy stronghold, and on which the marks of his teeth could still be seen, was kept in the second armoury. Its sheath was made of the horn of a rhinoceros and inlaid with rubies. Each time that it was brought out to be cleaned, it did cut the hands of the cleaners; for it ever fed upon the blood of men. This sword was in the city until its recent fall. The long-handled sword, named *Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand*, where-with King *Nareçvara* had severed the neck of the *Mahā Uparājā* who was seated upon his elephant, was kept in the second armoury. And in this armoury also was the cap that the *Mahā Uparājā* had dented with a blow of his sword. The statue of King *Nareçvara* was in the principal armoury.

King *Ekādaçaratha* abided steadfast in the ten precepts, making war upon no town or country. Happy and contented were all his people; and undisturbed the holy monks and *Brahmans* ministered to their faith. King *Ekādaçaratha* came to the throne in the year nine hundred and sixty of the Little Era (A. D. 1598), when he was twenty years of age. He reigned for nineteen years, passing away at the age of thirty nine; and this was in the year nine hundred and seventy nine of the Little Era, (A. D. 1617).

[REIGN OF KING TRAILOKANĀTHA].

And after many generations of Kings had passed away a scion of King *Sudharmarājā* came to rule in *Ayudhya*. The principal ministers,

the elder Brahmins and the councillors caused a coronation ceremony to be held in accordance with ancient royal custom, and tendered him the style and title of King *Trailokanātha*. This King abided by the ten precepts of Kingship and was called by the people King *Song Tam* the Excellent. His principal Queen was named *Candajāyā* and his second Queen *Katīyadevi*. Four daughters were born to him by the first Queen; and the birth of the eldest, who was named Princess *Paduma*, took place before his accession. The second daughter was called *Suriyā*, the third *Candadevi* and the youngest of them all *Sirī Katyā*. Thus there were four daughters of the principal Queen. And four daughters also did the second Queen bear him. The eldest was named *Upaladevi*; the next two were *Prābhāvatī* and *Vayaputri*; and the youngest of all *Kanīṣṭhadevi*. Thus was King *Trailokanātha* possessed of eight daughters and no son. A nephew there was on his mother's side, and his name was *Suriyavamṣa Kumāra*. And, wondrous to relate, strange were the games that the Prince was wont to play in his childhood. He sat upon an ant-hill as if it were a throne, and, giving audience to other children who pretended to be his councillors, he played at administration of the state. Wondrous it is to relate that he did play at many other astonishing games. King *Trailokanātha* was steadfast in the ten rules of sovereignty and ever abided by the ten precepts of the Faith. Well-learned in the Scriptures, he upheld the Faith with sincerity. On the four holy days of each month he entered into the state of continence, searching for things of heaven and *Nirvāṇa*. No animal did he deprive of life. Compelled by royal custom to give audience and to administer affairs of state, he carried out his duties in accordance with the tradition of Kings. Rewards were bestowed upon those who were deserving, and punishment according to the law was inflicted upon those who had committed evil. When the judges passed a sentence of death, commutation of such sentence was always granted by him. His nephew, Prince *Suriyavamṣa Kumāra*, who had been brought up in the royal palace, was given the title of Chao Phya *Suriyavamṣa* and placed in charge of the civil, military and trading affairs of the Kingdom. And were bestowed upon him divers insignia of dignity, such as the two golden vessels that were placed the one upon the other, and a gold spittoon; yea, even a sword was given unto him. He rode upon a sedan which had been carved with the feature of a lion; and leant against a cushion

when present in the midst of officials in council assembled. A carpet with a piece of cloth laid thereon was his seat at a royal audience, and in front of all the councillors was it placed; to that audience he was wont to come in a barge. All powers were delegated to him by the King. His personal attendants were wont to wear embroidered cloth. Letters regarding affairs of state were issued by his command. He entered into the royal presence wearing his cloth unwound. The rank that he held was that of a *Mahā Uparājā*, with full powers over all affairs and men. The King took no part in affairs of state, interested was he solely in matters of heaven and *Nirvāna*. Learned in the Teaching of the Lord and the Scriptures, the *Sūtra* and the *Abhidharma*, well versed also in right knowledge, he was wont to teach the monks. In those days he wrote a Siamese version of the *Mahā Vessantara Jātaka* in verse, rhyme and prose. The manner of chanting those verses in mournful melody also dated from his days. All his predecessors were wont to go and worship the *Lord's Foot-Print* every year without fail; but once only did King *Trailokanātha* make his way thither. He went no more, seeing that those who accompanied him and were employed in the carriage of goods did suffer great hardship. Kindly disposed towards all men, he feared that they would suffer privations and went thither no more. This King was full of compassion for his people. In his days happy and contented were all those of the city and its dependencies. All utensils, that were in the palace and destined for his use, were first offered as oblations in worship of the Three Gems; and such utensils he would use only after they had been redeemed. Nay more, even in his barge did he place an Image of the Lord before he would ride thereon. And such practices he was wont to carry out always without fail. Once when a *Japanese* vessel came in to trade, a soldier of his body-guard, who was evilly disposed, did seize all the merchandise and sold them, saying that he was collecting the King's tax. Thereafter he cheated the merchants by paying them with counterfeit coins. The *Japanese*, convinced that this was an artifice of the King, sent four soldiers privily into the city and the palace. And on that day whilst the King was seated at the *Cakravartī Vimāna Jāya* Hall listening to the singing of a chant that he had composed, the *Japanese* wretches were able to approach him, challenged by none. When they had come close to him, they tried to draw their dagger; but lo, all the daggers were stuck in their

sheath and could not be drawn. The assassins stood rooted to the spot, greatly confounded. The King perceived the four *Japanese* close to him and roared at them with his voice. Thereupon did the four men fall down in a faint and were captured. Upon being questioned through an interpreter, the *Japanese* replied that they had been given counterfeit coins in lieu of good treasury money; that they were full of anger because a King had defrauded those who were mere merchants; and that they were heroes intent upon taking his life. Having heard all that they had to say, the King burst into laughter; and, summoning Chao Phya *Çrī Suriyavaṃṣa*, he commanded that the culprit be found and that good coins be minted and given to him; nor was the life of this culprit to be forfeited. And no trouble was to befall the *Japanese*, seeing that they were not evil and had been defrauded by his own evil men. Having received these commands, Chao Phya *Çrī Suriyavaṃṣa* retired with speed; and, summoning the four *Japanese* to him, caused them to be sent to the master of their vessel. The person who had defrauded the *Japanese* was punished publicly; and, having been shown to the merchants as the culprit, was released in accordance with the King's behest. Death was the penalty for his crime, and yet was the King merciful to him and refrained from taking his life. Steadfast in the precepts, this King was forbearing, patient and virtuous. Happy and gay were all those of *Ayudhyā* in those days. The King built the *Buddhaiçvarya* and *Dharmikarājā* monasteries; he repaired a monastery that was in the town of *Vijayapuri* and named *Ratna Mahā Dhātu*; and he built a royal pavilion that was named *Vaijayaṇta*. He taught the monks the Scriptures, daily during the three months of Lent and on every holy day thereafter, so well-versed and learned was he in the Teaching of the Lord. The day upon which King *Trailokanātha* came to the throne was Saturday in the sixth month of the year nine hundred and seventy nine (A. D. 1617); his age was then twenty. He reigned for nineteen years and died in the year nine hundred and ninety eight (A. D. 1636), at the age of thirty nine.

[REIGN OF KING RĀMĀDHIPEÇARA].

When King *Trailokanātha* had passed away, the councillors were of one mind in beseeching Chao Phao *Çrī Suriyavaṃṣa* to rule over the realm. A coronation ceremony was held in accordance with ancient royal tradition; and to the new King was tendered the style

and title of *Rāmādhipēçvara*. And the King took all the eight daughters of King *Trailokanātha* to wife,—the four daughters of the principal Queen became principal Queens, and the four daughters of the second Queen became second Queens. The eldest of the principal Queens was named *Paduma*, the next *Suriyā*, the third *Canda Devī* and the fourth *Siri Kalyā*. And the names of the second Queens were *Upala Devī*, *Prabhavatī*, *Vayaputrī* and *Kaniṣṭha Devī*. And thus there were eight Queens in all. The principal Queen whose name was *Paduma* begat four sons, namely, the Princes *Jāya*, *Traibhūvanātha*, *Abhayajātī* and *Jayāditya*. The Queen whose name was *Upala Devī* begat three sons, namely the Princes *Katīyavaṃça*, *Traicakra* and *Surindakumāra*. And thus there were seven sons in all.

And one day it came to King *Rāmādhipēçvara* in his dream that there was a beautiful pavilion of gold beneath the ant-hill upon which he was wont to play; and thither did he go in the early morn. Having examined the spot, he caused the ground to be dug; and, wonderful to relate, loud noises were heard echoing to and fro. The diggers found a golden pavilion that was open on all its four sides; and brilliant and finely engraven was the gold wherewith it was made. The King took possession of the pavilion which was about twenty inches in height and placed therein a relie of the *Lord Buddha*. The pavilion itself was placed in the *Sārvajāña Palace* where it remained till later days. And this King did become known from that day as the *Lord of the Golden Pavilion*. To the *Lord of the Golden Pavilion* were born seven sons; and the eldest, named *Jaya Kumāra*, was the most beloved of them all. Although it was his desire that this son should succeed him, yet did the King doubt whether the boy was so endowed with the virtues that would merit the position of ruler of the realm. Having decided to appeal to a supernatural decision, the King brought forth seven swords and in his mind selected one of them as being suited to a King. And he prayed that whichever of the boys would become King, so might that boy choose the sword that was fit for kingship. The swords were then laid in a row and Prince *Jaya Kumāra* was summoned to take the first choice. This Prince selected the sword that took his fancy; but it was not the one that his father had in mind. The six other boys were then summoned to make their choice and each did take possession of a sword. To the youngest of them all, the Prince *Narinda Kumāra*,

who was the last to be summoned, fell the sword that had been thought fit for a King. The father perceived this sign but held his silence, bethinking himself that three ordeals were needed so that all doubts might be dispelled. And forthwith he commanded that seven elephants were to be brought forth, and selected in his mind one that was suitable for a sovereign lord. Prince *Jaya Kumāra*, called upon to choose before all the brothers, made his choice and again failed to obtain the one that his father had in mind. The six other brothers were then summoned one after the other in accordance with their age. Each chose the one that pleased him, and Prince *Narinda Kumāra*, who was the last of them all, was again possessed of the royal elephant. This sign the father again kept in mind and resolved upon the third ordeal, which was to be carried out with horses. And once more did Prince *Narinda Kumāra* obtain the horse that the King had selected, such being the third time that the sign was given. Thus was it made known to the *Lord of the Golden Pavilion* that Prince *Narinda Kumāra* it was, who would one day rule over the realm. Nevertheless the King kept silent, feeling sorrowful in his heart for the sake of Prince *Jaya Kumāra*. All the seven sons were summoned before him and were taught to love each other and never to cause one another harm. And having made his behests to Prince *Narinda Kumāra*, he taught the other six sons with loving kindness. Prince *Narinda Kumāra* undertook to carry out his father's commands.

Sometime thereafter the King built a palace which he named *Suriyācana Amarindra*, and another named *Vijayaprāsāda*. A residence was erected upon *Ban-Nang-In* island and named *Aisvarya Dibya Ācana*; and was built also the palace of *Phra Nagara Luang*. And he built a royal barge and a royal chariot, and the monasteries of *Jayavadhanārāma* and *Rājahulārāma*. All the gold and silver utensils, which he has wont to use in those days when he was *Chao Phya Sri Suriyavamaṇa*, were sold and the proceeds used in the erection of stupas. Images of his two wives who had passed away were casted and placed in the *Rājahulārāma* monastery; upon the pedestals were inscribed their respective names. The custom of holding a grand processional march to present Kathin robes to the monks dated from the days of this King.

Sometime thereafter the royal palace of *Maṅgalābhiseka* was struck by lightning and thither went the King's son to extinguish

the fire that had broken out. A sign of great augur was thereupon given to all those of the city, for the Prince appeared to them to be possessed of four arms. King *Rāmadhiṣṭhara* came to the throne at the age of twenty in the year nine hundred and ninety eight of the Little Era [A. D. 1636], being the year of the Rat. He reigned for twenty five years and passed away at the age of forty five in the thousand and twenty third year of the Little Era [A. D. 1661].

REIGN OF KING NĀRĀYAṆA.

When the *Lord of the Golden Pavilion* had passed away, his son, Prince *Narinda Kumāra*, succeeded to the royal estate. To the new King was tendered the style and title of King *Nārāyaṇa*, seeing that on the occasion when lightning struck the *Maṅgalābhīṣeka* Palace he had, whilst extinguishing the fire, appeared to all those of the city to be possessed of four arms. King *Nārāyaṇa*'s teacher was the monk *Brāhma*, and his wife was the Princess *Kasatri*, a niece to the *Lord of the Golden Pavilion* on her mother's side. This Princess *Kasatri* was the principal Queen and to her was born a daughter named *Sula Devī*. The second Queen was named *Panpi*; she begat neither son nor daughter. King *Nārāyaṇa* had many other ladies. Being possessed of no son, the King made a boy, *Mom Tia* by name, his foster-son; and he cared for a nephew named Prince *Crī Qilpa*, a son of his elder brother Prince *Jayaditya*, as if the child had been his own.

In both the royal palaces were fountains and basins of glass caused to be made by this King. The palaces were re-built with bricks and the walls inlaid with mirrors and gold. Having sojourned in *Ayudhyā* for ten years, the King went forth to re-build an old city that was called *Lavo*; and this he named *Lobpurī*. There were erected city-walls and fortifications, and a palace that was named *Tusita Mahāprāsāda*. On the right of this palace was the *Sudha-aiśvarya Hall*, and on its left the *Candabiçāla Hall*. And fountains there were that ever flowed with water. The *Jub Çara Lake* and the *Glass Pool* were dug. The King built the *Sang* and *Māhā Dhātu* monasteries and a stupa that was possessed of three spires. Royal robes and caps ornamented with feathers were made; the royal garments fashioned according to foreign and *Japanese* manners dated from those days.

The King was possessed of a white elephant that was born of a

sire that had been domesticated ; and a valiant and fine animal it was. This elephant was kept in the precincts of the palace and was named *Paramaratnakiṣa Krailāṣa Kirivamṣa*. None there were who surpassed the King in the art of managing elephants ; yea, even those that were fierce, rough and musth could he control even in the midst of the populace of the city. He was wont to ride upon an elephant in a procession, and even when only a six foot way was made for him, yet were no person or thing touched by the animal's trunk. Once when envoys from *Khorasan* came to seek audience of him, the King received them, mounted as he was upon the elephant that was called *Som*, a fierce and rough animal that was kept for the use of those who had been convicted of crime. This fiercest elephant of the city the King named *Cam Cakravala*, and mounted upon this animal, he greeted the foreign envoys. The animal was made to halt upon the carpet upon which was placed the vase bearing the letter of the foreign potentate ; and quietly back to its place was it made to return. Even a wild elephant that had been newly captured did he tie with proper trappings ; and, mounted upon that animal, he greeted the envoy of *France*. Everywhere he showed his skill ; with him wild elephants behaved as if they had been fully tamed. Wonderful was the skill of this King whom no other in history has ever equalled in this art, so great a master was he. Once when lightning struck the *Maṅgalābhīṣeka* palace, fire broke out as violently as if it were the Last Fire, and none could mount upon the building ; yet, miraculous to relate, the King did extinguish that fire. He then appeared to all others as if possessed of four arms ; and hence was presented with the title of *Nārāyaṇa*.

Now the King had a nephew who was a son of his elder brother and was named Prince *Śrī Śilpa Kumāra*. At the age of fifteen this Prince did conspire against his uncle ; his intent it was to take King *Nārāyaṇa*'s life by piercing him with a sword. But the end of that sword did the King seize with adroitness and the Prince was confined at the armoury. Nevertheless the King merely threatened the Prince and refrained from putting him to death ; for sorrow did he feel for a boy who had been deprived of both father and mother and mindful was he of the words of Prince *Jayāditya*, his beloved brother, who had with dying breaths requested him to care for Prince *Śrī Śilpa*. The King caused the Prince to be released and cared for him as heretofore. And one day thereafter Prince *Śrī Śilpa* did

again conspire against King *Nārāyaṇa*; for whilst the latter was giving an audience at a window of the palace, the Prince entered into the chamber bearing a sword; and, seen by none, concealed himself behind a door. When the audience was over, King *Nārāyaṇa* summoned his elephant and entered the palace by another route, mounted upon that animal. Prince *Crī Qilpa* stood concealed behind his door until discovered by the officials who carried the royal utensils. Having been acquainted thereof, the King came straight at the boy and seized him forthwith. The command was given that Prince *Crī Qilpa* be put to death. Thereupon was the Prince seized by the executioner, tied up and placed in a large bowl; he was then placed in a red sack and carried in procession to the *Krajai* monastery and was there buried alive,—such being the royal custom since days of yore. A guard was placed at the spot for full seven days. After the guard had left, a beloved attendant of the Prince, one who was faithful of heart, did go to dig up the earth and discovered the boy still alive. The servant then led his master away and concealed him in the village of the *White Lotus Market*. Some of the men of the town of *Vajrapurī* joined the Prince, who now commenced to gather together men of valour. Thereafter he led his worthy men towards the city and caused them to enter therein, few at a time. The Prince himself went privily to *Phra Kambang* and the latter consented to join his party. And many officials of the city there were who did become followers of the Prince. *Phya Nanda Yor Fung*, Keeper of the elephants, presented him with a mount; and there joined him also *Mūn Raj*, *Nai Thong Bas*, *Deva Yodhā*, *Nai Balaban*, *Luang Chasaenpati* and *Rājābal*; and together they laid their plans with care. When night had been fallen Prince *Crī Qilpa*, mounted upon the elephant *Viṣṇuvamṇa*, moved forth at the auspicious hour; and, taking the *Chuo Brāhma* road, entered by the *Prab Traicakra* gate. Thence he came by the *Cakravartī* road, stormed the *Red* gate and entered into the royal palace. And now *Luang Deva Sampati* and *Mūn Vaya*, having been acquainted with the news, entered to wake the King in his chamber. King *Nārāyaṇa* did forthwith leave by the *Mahābhogarāja* gate, followed by his body-guards, attendants and all those officials whose turn it was to guard the palace that night. And having entered into another palace, the King caused strong fortifications and palisades to be erected therein.

Of the King's followers some went to call up the soldiery, others to arrest strange men who had entered in disguise; some again went to find those who were faithful and true, and others to fetch the elephants, horses and their keepers; and some there were who awaited the enemy in the high-ways and by-ways. When it was dawn the King mounted upon the elephant *Kuñjara Chamuong* and led his force into the city. And having been informed that the enemy was approaching both in the front and the rear, the King halted his elephant in front and to the east of the palace, which he commanded the soldiers to surround with haste. Prince *Çri Çilpa* had failed to erect fortifications for defence; and allowed his followers to become scattered whilst looking into divers things. A brief fight ensued and the force of King *Nārāyaṇa* broke into the palace through a gate that had been destroyed. Some fired their guns and cannons, others cheered and struck the gongs and drums; loud were the noises that were made and in all directions resounded their echoes. Unable to resist the power and might of King *Nārāyaṇa*, the enemies bowed their heads to the ground and craved his indulgence; surrounded they were and captured with ease. The King commanded that Prince *Çri Çilpa* be executed in a novel fashion; for he was to be clubbed to death with a log of myrtle wood, placed in a bowl and thereafter buried in a red sack. This method of execution of a prince became a precedent that is followed even to this day. And the King commanded that all the followers of the Prince should be put to death; yea, even their parents and grand-parents, children and grandchildren were to die. The monk *Brahma* thereupon intervened and saved the lives of the rebels' families, lesser punishment being meted out to them. Those of the town of *Vajrapuri* who had first promoted sedition were compelled to feed the elephants in the city; and thus was this form of corvée first introduced.

And ever since those days did King *Nārāyaṇa* feel resentment against Prince *Çri Çilpa*, deeming that such disloyalty was due to the Prince not being a son born to him by his Queen. And to the monk who was sitting with him the King prayed that his Queen might beget a son, for no rebel would a child thus born to him ever become. So great was his anger with Prince *Çri Çilpa* that the King was led into wrong doing; anger so blinded him that he knew not the merits inherent in any child that were to be born, reflecting not that meritorious acts performed in past lives bear their fruit in

the present; so great was his resentment against Prince *Qrī Cūpa*. And his Queen only bore him a daughter; she begat no son. The King abided steadfast by the precepts and performed all things in righteousness, praying that thereby might a son be born to him by the Queen. And when such was not granted him he grew into anger, and in anger thus said to all his ladies: "Whosoever conceives my child, let her know that such child will I destroy, for none of them do I desire. To a son born of the Queen alone will I bequeath all my estates; such is my will." And whenever a lady of the palace did conceive a child, she had perforce to acquaint the King thereof; and many of such children did the King destroy. Now of the ladies of the palace there was one whose name was *Sombun* and who had been given the title of *Phra Rāja Jāyā Devī*; and it so happened that this lady, the chief and the most favoured of them all, was going to be with child. The King had a dream which caused him such great anxiety of mind that he invited his teacher, the monk *Brāhma*, into his presence and related to him all that he had dreamt. And the monk *Brāhma* said "Of good omen is this dream of thine; for unto thee will a son be born. Of one thing do I disapprove, namely, the destruction of all children that are born to thee by the ladies of the palace. This and this alone do I deprecate, for such action of thine is one of sin. Were no son to be born to thee by thy Queen, and were there to be no other son save this lady's child, whom then wouldst thou have to succeed to this thy throne? With neither son nor daughter, who then will succeed to these thy estates? Is it thy intent that one of thy servants or any rich man or head of a household or merchant should succeed thee and rule over this thy realm? A son, though born to thee by a mere lady of the palace, is still thy son; and his past meritorious acts it may be that will win him this realm. Disregard these my words, and may be *Ayudhyā* will disappear as other cities of old. But shouldst thou heed my advice, happiness and prosperity would be the lot of *Ayudhyā*." Having heard such words from the teacher, great contentment did arise in the mind of the King; one difficulty alone remained before him, that is, the words that had previously fallen from his lips. His intent it now was so to devise a scheme that he might, without breaking faith, follow the advice of his teacher. And when the teacher had left, the King summoned to him *Chao Phya Sura Siha*, a son of his nurse and a teacher to him

in the art of managing elephants. *Chao Phya Sura Siha* was led into his innermost chamber and was told privily of all that had passed. The lady whose name was *Sombun* was given into his charge. At the tenth month was born a child, handsome and noble of feature. And when tidings of the birth were brought to the King, many were the presents that he bestowed upon the child; namely, jewels, treasures, silks, servants, elephants, horses, garden and paddy land. Plentiful indeed were the presents from the King. The relatives and friends of *Chao Phya Sura Siha* himself did also bring many gifts; servants, horses, elephants, garden and paddy land; plentiful indeed were the gifts made by them; for of all *Chao Phya Sura Siha's* relatives and friends one and all did bring gifts for the child. And relatives of the child's mother also did bring a large amount of treasures and other gifts. Right well pleased was *Chao Phya Sura Siha*, for a very rich man did he well-nigh become.

When the child had become seven years of age, King *Narāyana* summoned him into the royal palace and commanded him to enter therein often and without fail. And the King conferred upon him the title of *Chao Phya Cū Suraçakti Agrarāja Muntiri Cū Samgram*. The utensils that were bestowed upon him were not similar to those of a royal prince but were superior to those given to the nobles; his seat at the royal audience was in front of all the councillors. Clever and quick of wit, *Chao Phya Suraçakti* was also valiant and fearless; fierce and cruel too was he, none did he fear. His hands were laid upon others as soon as words could drop from his lips. Others did he pinch, pull, kick, box and strike. And he made love to the daughters of those of the city of whatever nationality they might be; none of them did he leave alone. Even to those whom their parents guarded closely did he pay clandestine visits. He made love alike to those of noble birth and those of the poorest class, and gave them treasures in the same measure as his love for them. And once a noble, *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* by name, came to hear that *Chao Phya Suraçakti* was infatuated with his daughter and intended to steal her away. And having met *Chao Phya Suraçakti* in the palace, *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* greeted him and said: "Is it true, as men do say, that thy intent it is to steal my daughter? Let not such rumour come to naught, for thou art a man of skill. I, thy uncle, will prepare a reception for thee to-night at my house." A great

and powerful man in the city was *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* and his desire it was to test the skill of *Chao Phya Suraçakti*. Wherefore did he make this further challenge, saying: "If thou were brave and skilful a daughter would I give unto thee. But shouldst thou be captured, upon thee would trouble befall. Fail not to maintain thy reputation." Having heard such words, which were uttered in front of many others, *Chao Phya Suraçakti* replied with a smile, saying: "So be it, o uncle. Thou art my elder and must keep thy words. Were I to fail on account of some past sins, then would I suffer punishment at thy hands. Bear not thyself as a rich man whose words pour forth easily but are not kept. What man is there indeed who will dare approach thy daughter openly? To-day shall we see as to which of us is the more skilful. Of my success do I feel some doubt, for thou art a man of skill; but had thy daughter been my mate in a past life, then surely would she become mine once again." These words were said with merriment in front of all the councillors, who thereupon agreed to go and look on at the venture. Having left the palace, *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* ordered all his servants and retainers to gather together at night-fall; shadow-plays and Mon dances were shown amidst great tumult; and so many torches were lighted that his house was brightly illuminated. All the friends and relatives of *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* did gather around him that night; and amongst them sat the daughter watching the plays. At a little past the hour of mid-night *Chao Phya Suraçakti* together with a trusted retainer did creep near to them, and, seeing his chance, he recited holy mantras and threw some gravel into the midst of the gathering. Sleep fell upon the whole assembly and *Chao Phya Suraçakti* entered into the house. All the lights were extinguished and the damsel carried away upon a sedan amidst loud cheers and cries. And when the morning came, both *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* and *Chao Phya Suraçakti* went into the palace; and, after having left the royal presence, the latter showed his little finger upon which a ring was worn, saying: "What, o uncle, is the price of this ring?" Having perceived the ring *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* laughed and said: "Truly thou art a man of skill. A great soldier of *Ayudhya* am I and now hast thou defeated me." And, having acquainted all those that were present of the challenge that he had made, *Chao Phya Rājavamsarga* said further: "My belief it was that none equalled me in my skill. I challenged

thee because I doubted thy love for my daughter, and glad I am that thou hast not failed. Now are things made clear in my eyes, and hence will none dare to fight against thee, o *Chao Phya Suraçakti*, for brave and skilful art thou, the greatest soldier in this our world." And *Chao Phya Suraçakti* replied: "Well do I know, o uncle, that thou too art a man of great skill. Though I feared the challenge made by thee, yet was my love greater than fear. To put my knowledge to the test was also my desire and my meritorious acts in former lives it was that helped me to win thy daughter, whom I had long loved. Have no anxiety, o uncle, for my principal wife will she become. And thy pardon do I crave for this my rash act. My intent it was to ask for the hands of thy daughter in the usual way; but it was thy challenge that led me to take a different course." The story of this adventure was told throughout the whole city and even King *Nārāyaṇa* was acquainted thereof. And all those who were possessed of daughters did give them away in marriage whilst they were young, fearing that they might be stolen by *Chao Phya Suraçakti*, who was a valiant man. And even with girls who had just entered into wedlock did *Chao Phya Suraçakti* commit adultery, whenever he found them young and pleasing in his eyes. Nor did their husbands dare to say aught but preferred to lead them away, for they held him in fear. But girls of ordinary beauty did he not steal; for he did only love the daughter of *Chao Phya Rājavamsūrga*. Clever husbands could conceal such girls from him.

A valiant man and well versed in the arts was *Chao Phya Cṛi Suraçakti*, fearing not even *Phya Vidyendra* who was a great favourite of King *Nārāyaṇa* and was chief minister for both civil and military affairs. Once in the midst of an assembly of councillors who were seated at a royal audience, *Chao Phya Suraçakti* did intentionally swing his legs so that his feet struck *Phya Vidyendra* on the head. And he feared not even that fierce elephant that was named *Som*, for he was wont to mount upon its back by climbing its tusk. So fierce was this elephant *Som* that none dared to ride it save its keeper. And once whilst the King was journeying in a forest, *Chao Phya Suraçakti* rode a vicious horse that bucked and turned in all directions. The King cried out to him: "Wild is the horse and stronger is he than thou. Come then and ride with me on this elephant." To him *Chao Phya Suraçakti* replied: "A strong and vicious horse it is; but his strength do I wish to test and

soon shall we know who will be master." Having said these words he galloped towards the *Jub Cara* lake and returned by way of the Garden of the *Glass Pool*. Upon arrival before the *Phra Dhātu* monastery a violent storm broke out and the frightened animal jumped over the wall that was about eleven feet in height and about six feet thick. *Chao Phya Surasakti* received no hurt nor did he even fall from his seat. And King *Nārāyaṇa*, perceiving the jump, commanded the officers to go posthaste and see whether any harm had befallen him and to bid him return by the large gate. The officers ran up to him, saying; "The King commands thee to return by the large gate, and has halted his elephant to await thee." Thereupon did *Chao Phya Surasakti* bid them return to inform the King that he would go back by the way that he had come. And he whipped up the horse to the gallop and again jumped over the wall, to the wonder and admiration of all those that were present. And those men did praise his noble bearing, his bravery and skill, saying that he was surely destined for the great Umbrella of State.

King *Nārāyaṇa* showed great favours towards *Vidyendra*, who was a Frenchman, and conferred upon him the title of *Phya Vidyendra*, principal minister for both military and civil affairs. A man of great wisdom and knowledge was *Vidyendra*, knowing all the crafts and able to make engines and mechanical contrivances. Even clocks, telescopes and compasses did he know how to make; yea, all things were within his knowledge and ability. Once King *Nārāyaṇa* desired to know the weight of a cannon and no councillors were there who could devise means whereby the cannon might be weighed. Thereupon did the King summon *Phya Vidyendra* to the task and the cannon was weighed in accordance with the King's desire.

Some time thereafter *Phya Vidyendra* did plot against the person of the King, who was acquainted thereof by those councillors who had learnt of the treason. But King *Nārāyaṇa* said nothing thereanent; so great was his confidence in the power of his virtues and might that no action did he take. And once when *Phya Vidyendra* was at a royal audience, the King handed him a sword and walked hand-in-hand with him up and down the chamber; and, since *Phya Vidyendra* dared do no harm, no anxiety was there in the mind of the King. Once thereafter did *Phya Vidyendra* scheme to bore a tunnel that would lead him from his house into the palace. But the

secret was not kept, for tidings came to the ears of the chief councillors, *Chao Phya Rājāwāmsarga* and *Phya Hussein Khan*, who forthwith acquainted the King of all *Phya Vidyendra's* designs. King *Nārāyaṇa* thereupon commanded *Phya Hussein Khan* to summon *Phya Vidyendra* into his presence, for his intent it was to question the accused nobleman. This *Phya Hussein Khan* was an *Indian*, a worthy man of great wisdom and courage. Having received the King's command, he adorned himself and placed a sword at his waist. Thereafter he entered into the house wherein lived *Phya Vidyendra*; and the two men seated themselves upon chairs, the former holding the latter by the hand. And although he was told by *Phya Hussein Khan* that the King had summoned him, yet did *Phya Vidyendra* refuse to obey the Royal command. And forthwith did *Phya Hussein Khan* draw his sword and cut off *Phya Vidyendra's* head. Thus did *Phya Vidyendra* meet his death. When all that had happened was reported to King *Nārāyaṇa* by *Phya Hussein Khan*, the King said nothing thereanent, so great was his love and confidence in both *Chao Phya Rājāwāmsarga* and *Phya Hussein Khan*, the soldier of *India*.

(to be continued)

VOCABULARY OF CHAWNG WORDS
COLLECTED IN KRAT PROVINCE
by

NAI NOE ISARANGURA

INTRODUCTION

A great part of Krat Province is peopled by Chawng, a race still more largely represented in Cambodia, where they are known as Porr.

Crawfurd⁽¹⁾, on leaving Bangkok after his mission in 1822, stopped for some days at Ko Si-chang, where, among the crew of a Chinese junk from Tung-yai (probably the modern Klung), he met "an individual of the wild race of the Chong, who appear, as far as I could learn, to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory of Chan-ti-bun and Tung-yai..... He gave me a short vocabulary of his dialect." Nowadays, at least, the Chawng, as far as concerns those in the provinces of Chantabun and Krat, are in nowise wild. They are a peaceable, industrious and good-humoured people. Crawfurd gives the vocabulary he thus obtained, consisting of eighty words. Allowing for the system of transcription used, it agrees fairly closely with that given below. It also supplements the latter, which omits a number of adjectives given by Crawfurd.

The present list also agrees, on the whole, with the vocabulary of the Porr in Pursat and Battambang Provinces, as given by Dr. Jean Brengues in Vol. II of this Journal.

Nai Noe Isarangura took down in Siamese script, and with their Siamese equivalents, the words from Chawng villagers who were also well acquainted with Siamese. More reliance should, therefore be placed on the Siamese translation of the words than on the English. With the Chawng, final *r* and *l* keep their sound, and do not change as in Siamese.

A. KERR.

(1) J. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China*, London, 1830, (2nd edition).

CHAWNG WORDS

Ban Dan Chumpon, Krat Province,

December 20th 1929.

1.	ม้าย	19.	กาชาด
2.	ป้า	20.	ประเซ
3.	เพ	21.	ประเซมอย
4.	โพ้น	22.	ประเซป้า
5.	พรว้า	23.	ประเซเพ
6.	กะตอง	24.	ประเซโพ้น
7.	กานูต	25.	ประเซพรว้า
8.	กาศ	30.	เพเซ
9.	กาชาด	31.	เพเซมอย
10.	กวงาย	40.	โพ้นเซ
11.	กวงายมอย	50.	พรว้าเซ
12.	ร่ายป้า	60.	กะตองเซ
13.	ร่ายเพ	100.	มัยขู้
14.	ร่ายโพ้น	101.	มัยขู้มอย
15.	ร่ายท้าว	110.	มัยขู้ร่าย
16.	ร่ายกาศของ	1000.	มัยพัน
17.	ร่ายกานูต	10000.	มัยหมื่น
18.	ร่ายกาศ		

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Village	ดะรุก	หมู่บ้าน
House	ตง	เรือน
Door	ประตู	ประตู
Window	หน้าต่าง	หน้าต่าง
Roof	คาบอก	หลังคา
Plank	กระดาน	กระดาน
Bamboo	ทะงาย	ไม้ไผ่
Table	โต๊ะ	โต๊ะ
Broom	ไม้กวาด	ไม้กวาด
Firewood	ฮู	ฟืน
Boat	ตง	เรือ
Paddle	จะว	พาย
Oar	จะว	จะว
Knife	แปด	มีด
Hatchet	กราน	ขวาน
Day	ทะง	กลางวัน
Night	คะแดง	กลางคืน
Morning	เมต	เช้า
Evening	วาคา	เย็น
Month	โมยกาง	เดือน
Year	หม	ปี

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Sky	ฟัดง	ฟ้า
Heaven	สวัน	สวรรค์
Sun	ทง	พระอาทิตย์
Sunshine	ท	แดด
Moon	กาง	พระจันทร์
Star	ซม	ดาว
Sunrise	ทงตก	พระอาทิตย์ขึ้น
Sunset	ทงจม	พระอาทิตย์ตก
Cloud	ยุต	เมฆ
Rain	กามา	ฝน
Wind	ขยาด	ลม
Thunder	กามาต	ฟ้าร้อง
Lightning	จาด	ฟ้าผ่า
Rainbow	ดากองมาตาตาก	รุ้งกินน้ำ
East	ทิศทงตก	ทิศตะวันออก
North	ทิศเหนือ	ทิศเหนือ
South	ทิศใต้	ทิศใต้
West	ทิศทงจม	ทิศตะวันตก
Soil	เท	ดิน
Plain	ร่านาง	ทุ่ง
Hill	นอง	เขา

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Cave	ถ้ำ	ถ้ำ
Path	คาว	ทาง
Water	คาก	น้ำ
Stream	คอง	ห้วย, ลำธาร
River	แม่น้ำ	แม่น้ำ
Sea	ทะเล	ทะเล
Marsh	โคด	หนอง
Mud	ปลื้ม	โคลน
Sand	กาย่าง	ทราย
Stone	ทะโม	หิน
Gold	ทอง	ทอง
Silver	เงิน	เงิน
Iron	ราชอง	เหล็ก
Lead	ทะมาก	ตะกั่ว
Fire	เปลว	ไฟ
Smoke	คระเปลว	ควัน
Ash	ปะชู่	ขี้เถ้า
Charcoal	คระ	ถ่าน
To light a fire	พุดเปลว	จุดไฟ
To put out a fire	พิกเปลว	ดับไฟ
Forest	ป่า	ป่า

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Trunk of a tree	เทบ ^น	ต้น
Root	เร ^น	ราก
Branch	กราง ^น	กิ่ง
Bark	กร ^น	เปลือก
Flower	ปาง ^น	ดอก
Fruit	พร ^น	ลูก
Grass	ช ^ว	หญ้า
Cocoanut palm	เทม ^ว	ต้นมะพร้าว
Cocoanut	พร ^ว	มะพร้าว
Areca nut palm	เทม ^น าก	ต้นหมาก
Ceri leaf	พะ ^ด	พด
Banana	เทม ^ด อง	ต้นกล้วย
Orange	จ ^อ	ส้ม
Lime fruit	จ ^อ มะนาว	มะนาว
Mango	จ ^อ ช ^อ ก	มะม่วง
Jack fruit	ช ^น	ขนุน
Sugar cane	ด ^ง	อ้อย
Pepper	มะ ^ก ว ^ด	พริกไทย
Tobacco	ยา ^ด ก	ยาสูบ
Tea	ชา	ชา
Cucumber	เว ^า ระ ^ค อง	แตงกวา

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Maize	โปต	เข้าโพต
Bean	ราตัก	ถั่ว
Onion	หัวหอม	หัวหอม
Garlic	กระเทียม	กระเทียม
Sweet potato	โอวัน	มันเทศ
Chili (Red pepper)	กาเต้	พริกไทย
Paddy	สาไม้	ข้าวเปลือก
Rice	ตาไค้	ข้าวสาร
Glutinous rice	สาตำไม้ยี้	ข้าวเหนียว
Paddy field	รำนางนา	ทุ่งนา
Sowing rice	ปลู้น้ำ	หว่านข้าว
Transplanting	ไถ่น้ำ	ดำข้าว
Reaping	เกี่ยวน้ำ	เกี่ยวข้าว
Cooking rice	ต้มกตง	หุงข้าว
Wooden mortar for pounding rice	ตะไค้ชอกน้ำ	ครกตำข้าว
Boiler for cooking rice	แกกตง	หม้อข้าว
Cultivation clearing (Rai)	นาถ์	ไร่
Buffalo	กาปาว	ควาย
Buffalo's horn	ซาโรคก่าปาว	เขาคควาย
Ox	ครอยงะดอง	วัวตัวผู้
Male	งะดอง	ตัวผู้

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Female	คณ ^๕	ตัวเมีย ^๕
Goat	แพะ	แพะ
Pig	กระรอก—ตะกุก	หมู
Cat	แมว	แมว
Cat's claw	กาทระแมว	เล็บแมว
Dog	ช้อย ^๕	หมา
Dog's tail	ตะช้อย ^๕	หางหมา
Bark	เกย ^๕	เห่า
Bite	กัด	กัด
Deer (Kwang)	เจ	กวาง
Squirrel	ผรอก	กระรอก
Rat	ค้อน	หนู
Boar	ตะรอกปร	หมูป่า
Monkey	วา	ลิง
Leopard	ช้ายแผ้ว	เสือดำ
Tiger	ว่าว้ายคัก	เสือ
Bear	คำคุด	หมี
Pony	ม้า	ม้า
Elephant	กานาย	ช้าง
Rhinoceros	ว่ามา	แรด
Elephant's trunk	คัมกานาย	งวงช้าง

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Bird	ชฌม	นก
Bird's nest	ปะชฌมชฌม	รังนก
Beak (of bird)	วาทะชฌม	ปากนก
Wing	ชฌม	ปีก
Feather	ชฌม	ขนนก
Fowl	เหตัก	ไก่
Cock	แถกชฌม	ไก่ตัวผู้
Hen	แถกคน	ไก่ตัวเมีย
Duck	คา	เป็ด
Crow	กา	กา
Dove	ชฌมต่าง	นกเขา
Fly	ชฌม	บิน
Fish	เมต	ปลา
Fin	พดางเมต	หีบปลา
Snake	ชฌม	งู
Crocodile	ตะชฌม	จระเข้
Prawn	กุ้ง	กุ้ง
Crab	ทาม	ปู
Turtle	ตะชฌม	เต่า
Shell (molluse)	คดชฌม	หอย
House lizard	จิ้งจก	จิ้งจก

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Grass lizard	เกด ^๒	จิ้งเหลน ^๙
Frog (Kop)	กบ ^๑	กบ ^๙
Toad	หิร ^๑	กิ้งคก ^๙
Fly (maleng wan)	วอย ^๑	แมลงวัน ^๙
Mosquito	มอ ^๑	ยุง ^๙
Butterfly	คระกต ^๙	ผีเสื้อ ^๙
Worm	คระอ ^๑	หนอน ^๙
Ant	อู ^๑	มด ^๙
Spider	คองมา ^๑	แมลงมุม ^๙
Bee	ผะหงาม ^๑	ผึ้ง ^๙
Honey	ทากผะหงาม ^๑	น้ำผึ้ง ^๙
Wax	โพด ^๑	ขี้ผึ้ง ^๙
Man	วาชิม ^๑ ด้าตอง	คนผู้ชาย ^๙
Woman	วาชิม ^๑ จาคัน	คนผู้หญิง ^๙
Boy	วะเนต ^๑ ด้าตอง	เด็กผู้ชาย ^๙
Girl	วะเนต ^๑ จาคัน	เด็กผู้หญิง ^๙
Baby	วะเนต ^๑ กต ๆ	เด็กเล็ก ๆ ^๙
Old People	วาชิม ^๑ ช	คนแก่ ^๙
Husband	ดะตอง ^๑	ผัว ^๙
Wife	วะง ^๑ น	เมีย ^๙
Father	คุน ^๑ ย	พ่อ ^๙

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Mother	ม่นย๋	แม่
Son	เคนจ๋าดอง	ลูกผู้ชาย
Daughter	เคนจ๋าคัน	ลูกผู้หญิง
Elder Brother	คต่นจ๋าดอง	พี่ชาย
Elder Sister	คต่นจ๋าคัน	พี่สาว
Younger Brother	โมตจ๋าดอง	น้องชาย
Younger Sister	โมตจ๋าคัน	น้องสาว
Grandfather	นรมอง	ปู่
Grandmother	นาง	ย่า
Body	กรบ	ตัว
Head	โต	หัว
Hair	ตุก	ผม
Face	งาต๋	หน้า
Skull	จะเกาะโต	หัวกระโหลก
Forehead	น้ำผาก	หน้าผาก
Eye	หมัก	ตา
Cheek	ปานต๋	แก้ม
Ear	ปลาง	หู
Nose	มะตุต	จมูก
Mouth	ราเนง	ปาก

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Lip	ตะขาคำ ^๓ ร่า ^๓ นง	ริม ^๓ ฝี ^๓ ปาก
Teeth	โดย	ฟัน ^๓
Tongue	ร่า ^๓ คาค ^๓	ลิ้น ^๓
Chin whisker	ตุ้ม ^๓ มาง	เครา
Neck	กอก	คอ
Shoulder	เพดง	บ่า
Arm	แขน	แขน
Hand	ต ^๓	มือ
Right hand	ต ^๓ เดว	มือ ^๓ ขวา
Left hand	ต ^๓ แดง	มือ ^๓ ซ้าย
Finger	กายา	นิ้ว
Finger nail	กำ ^๓ ทระ	เล็บ
Breast	กร ^๓ ตย	หน้า ^๓ อก
Stomach	ปุง	ท้อง
Back	หวาง	หลัง
Knee	โคน ^๓ ก ^๓	หัว ^๓ เข่า
Thigh	ปต	ขา
Foot	ซัง	ตีน
Big toe	กามัน ^๓ ซัง	หัว ^๓ แม่ ^๓ ตีน
Skin	ทา ^๓ ไถ	หนัง
Flesh	ปอน	เนื้อ

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Fat	คุง	ไร—มัน
Bone	กตอง	กระดูก
Blood	ซำม	เลือด
Tear	ตากหมัด	น้ำตา
Sweat	สะหมัก	เหงื่อ
Milk	ทากยก	น้ำนม
Urine	คุดม	เยี่ยว
Eat rice	ชอบปลดอง	กินข้าว
Drink water	ค้ำตัก	กินน้ำ
Drink spirit	ค้ำคิรวานย	กินเหล้า
Drunk	ปู้ด	เมา
Salt	ดุก	เกลือ
Pepper	มะหรัด	พริกไทย
Coat	สะโตบ	เสื้อ
Trousers	กุงเกง	กางเกง
Cloth	เทวา	ผ้า
Ring	จระแกง	แหวน
Earing	คุ่มฮู	คุ่มหู
Bracelet	ก้องต	กำไลข้อมือ
Anklet	ก้องซัง	กำไลข้อมือ
String	เซ	เชือก

ENGLISH	CHAWNG	SIAMESE
Silk	ไหม	ไหม
To go	ไป	ไป
To come	มา	มา
To ride a pony	ขี่ม้า	ขี่ม้า
To walk	เดิน	เดิน
To run	วิ่ง	วิ่ง
To get up	ลุก	ลุก ^X ขึ้น
Stand up	ยืน	ยืน
Sit down	นั่ง	นั่ง
Lie down	นอน	นอน

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I

THE BLOW-PIPE IN NORTH-EASTERN SIAM.

When travelling recently in the province of Chaiyaphum, North-Eastern Siam, I found that the blow-pipe was in common use among the villagers. These blow-pipes are very simple affairs. They are made out of the bamboo called *ruak* (*Thyrsostachys siamensis*). A full-sized one is about three metres in length, but much smaller are sometimes used, particularly by boys. The nodes inside the bamboo culm are burnt out by means of a red-hot iron rod. There is no inner tube, mouth-piece or any kind of ornamentation. The darts are made from pointed bamboo splints, about 40 c. long, wrapped round with cotton-wool at the blunt end. As might be imagined with a pole three metres long, the pipe is rather unwieldy, and usually has to be rested on a branch in order to get a steady aim. It is used almost entirely for shooting birds.

A. KERR.

Bangkok, May 1931.

II

A KAREN DOGGEREL.

On a recent visit to Doi Angka I hired the local Karens to beat the jungle for me on several occasions. One day, after some hours of fruitless tramping under a scorching sun, we sat down to rest, and I observed the following ceremony performed by the head beater.

A dried leaf was picked from a bush, held close to the lips, and a charm whispered to it. Then he broke the leaf crosswise five or six times, the leaf cracking into smaller pieces as he did so, but none

was allowed to fall to the ground. Holding the fragments in his palm he removed them two by two and threw them away. The point of the proceeding was that if two bits of leaf remained in his hand at the end, the hunt would be successful; if only one, further search would be a waste of time. Three or four trials were made, with one fragment left over each time, so there was nothing to do but to return to camp.

With some difficulty I induced the man to dictate to me the words of the charm, which I wrote down in the Siamese character. He was unable to translate their meaning into Lao. The alleged words were as follows:

^๕ ^๕
 ๐๕๐๐๐๕๐๐
^๕ ^๕ ^๕ ^๕ ^๕
 ๐๕๐๐๐๐๐๐๐๐
^๕
 ๐๕๐๐๐๐๐๐
^๕ ^๕ ^๕ ^๕
 ๐๕๐๐๐๐๐๐๐๐

H. G. DEIGNAN.

Chiangmai, May 1931.

III

SOME LOAN WORDS IN SIAMESE.

The development of imported words into Siamese is in many cases well worth noticing. The following instance may be of interest.

Aya (๐๕๐๐).

This word is derived from the Sanskrit *ājñā*, "order, authority," made up of the prefix *ā* and the verbal root *jñā*. Early orthography of the word was (๐๕๐๐) which was an exact transcription into the Siamese of the original classical word. The compound ๕ (๕+๕) having become obsolete in modern Siamese, it was then written ๐๕๐๐ which doubtless is phonetically satisfactory. An attempt is made in the school-dictionary to indicate the etymology by restoring the ๕ and writing ๐๕๐๐. No indication of the sound being given, many people adopted a new pronunciation of the word, that is *achāya*, which is of course unreal.

Let us now examine the development of its meaning which is even more eventful. For this particular purpose I have adopted my own translation of the titles of the Laws quoted, which may not be found in legal works. The following passages are intended to illustrate this development:—

โบราณราชกระษัตริย์แต่ปางก่อน พระองค์ทรงพระกรุณาเพื่อจะมิให้
มุขมนตรีกรรราชกิจเดรัจฉานล่วงเกิน พระราชอาญา จึงให้ตราพระ
ราชบัญญัติ..... (ลักษณะอาชญาหลวง, L. 24, 18a-c).
that is, in English:

"Ancient monarchs of yore, in their benevolence, lest their chief
councillors and learned men as well as their people should misuse
the Royal Authority, had the following law promulgated....."

Law on Royal Authority, Preamble.

Again:

จะกล่าวมูลคดีวิวาทอันบังเกิดความแก่กันด้วยล่วงเกินซึ่งเหตุอันด้วย
อุบายต่างๆ ตามอาญา แห่ง คน เอง (ลักษณะอาชญาหลวง, L. 24, 2,
124a-c).

"Now (we) shall treat of the fundamental category of litigation
which covers cases in which one party infringes maliciously upon the
rights of another on his own personal authority"

Law on Private Authority, Preamble.

It is evident from the above two passages that the word still
retained its original meaning of 'authority'. The spelling of the
passages quoted is that of the Recension of 1805 A. D.

The Thārmāsāt (ธรรมศาสตร์), the date of which is, truly speaking,
unknown, although the sixteenth century has been plausibly suggested
as the date of its introduction, shows a difference in meaning in
the following passage.

.....อันว่ากรรยาชดชั่ง อาญา แลตั้งใหม่พิไนยอันใด.....แก่
บุคคลทั้งหลายผู้แพศย.....อันว่าลักษณะนั้นอาจารยักดา.....
ซึ่งว่าลักษณะเทณฑ (พระธรรมศาสตร์, L. 1. 2, 83).

"The act of extending *punishment* and fines or fees to the defeat-
ed litigant is called *thāṇṭh* (Skt. *danda*).

The juxtaposition of 'fines or fees' would seem to warrant taking the word ชาติ in the sense of punishment.

Finally :

บุคคลควรรับ ชาติ เมื่อมันได้กระทำการ อันกฎหมาย
.....บัญญัติว่าเป็นความผิดกำหนดโทษไว้

"A person shall only be *punished*.....", Official translation which served as original draft of the Penal Code of 1908.

A literal translation of this would be :

"A person shall *receive punishment* only when he has committed an act which the Law ordains as wrong and for which it lays down a penalty."

Also from the same source :

แต่ ชาติ ที่จะใช้ลงโทษผู้กระทำความผิดนั้นที่ไม่ควรใช้ ชาติ อย่างอื่น
นอกจากชาติที่บัญญัติไว้ในกฎหมาย

"No other *punishment* than that *defined* by law shall be inflicted."

These two passages show clearly how the modern sense of the word has become specified.

From the above it is fairly clear that the exact meaning of ชาติ and กฎหมายชาติ are apt to be misunderstood, since it is more usual to speak in general of the Criminal Court and Criminal Law.

Turning again to words in general use outside the technique of Law, we find ชาติวิจิตร, *ayasit* (Skt. *Ājñāsiddhi*), meaning 'absolute power over life and death' given to a commander in chief in a campaign, thus : พระราชทานชาติวิจิตรแก่แม่ทัพ, "the King gave power over life and death to the commander in chief," that is the commander was vested with the *siddhi* of *ājñā*, in other words with the *ājñā* (of the King). ชาติจักร (Skt. *ājñācakra*) is used quite vaguely and seems to have no connection with the original meaning in Sanskrit of the mystic circle of the Tantras, thus : ถ้าข้าพเจ้าทรมาน ชาติ จักให้คนชั่วชาติจักร, "if I commit a perjury, may I never escape the penalty of state" (a common vow).

The Pali form of the same word, *āṇā* (āṇā), is quite widely used in Siamese, mostly in a slightly different sense. By itself it is seldom met with. It occurs however in the formula of Invitation in the ceremony of Coronation:—

“ รพพระองค์จงทรงแผ่ความปกครอง และยัง พระราชอาณา
ให้ไปทั่วประเทศแลตั้งศรัทธาถวายเทอดาม ”

The Pali original, also repeated in the ceremony, being:

Guttiṃ tesam pasārento

Āṇam vattetu rājakaṃ

or in English,

“extend his protection and exercise royal authority ” etc.

The compounds of *āṇā* are numerous and still widely used, though it seems hard to detect their original sense. They show, by the method they are written, that they could not have been imported but were locally coined, for they are jumbles of Sanskrit and Pali words thus *āṇā* (Pali) + *cakra* (Sansk.); *āṇā* (Pali) + *prajā* (Sansk.) + *rāṣṭra* (Sansk.) = *āṇāprajārāṣṭra* which is pronounced *anaprāchavad* in Siamese. *อาณาจักร* *anakhēt* and *อาณาจักร* *anacāk* are loosely used to designate the extent of a political state, and may be seen translated in official papers as Kingdom, when applied to Siam, with the addition of *ราช* (royal), thus:

สยามประเทศเป็นราชอาณาจักร อันหนึ่งอันเดียวจะแยกกันไม่ได้. “The Kingdom of Siam is one and indivisible”. *The State Constitution*, 2475, (sect. 1).

Also, *สภาพนอกอาณาเขต* is “exterritoriality”.

As regards *อาณาจักรสยาม* we find for instance in the preamble to the Constitution above mentioned the injunction that:

ขอให้พระบรมวงศานุวงศ์และข้าราชการทั้งทหารพลเรือนทวยหา
พระราชอาณาจักร จงมีความสมัครสมานรักใคร่กัน ในอันจะรักษา
ปฏิบัติรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรสยามนี้.

Let members of My Royal Family, members of My Government services, military as well as civil, and the bulk of the *people* unite as a whole in maintaining this Constitution of the Kingdom of Siam.....

The compound ภาษีเงินได้ though seemingly indicating something like *state revenue* is now used in the sense of *private income*, as for instance in the phrase: เอาไปเป็นภาษีเงินได้ตน, which may be translated, "Take away as one's income", i.e. appropriate. Parallel instances are not uncommon in Siamese, and one can quite frequently hear an elderly servant speaking of his master's service as ภาระ which strictly speaking should apply only to that of the King.

โทษ, *thos*.

The word is obviously identical with the Sanskrit *dosa* and Pali *dosa*, "wrong." In Siamese its meaning ranges from 'wrong' to 'guilt' and 'punishment'. I have not been able to trace its successive development, but here are some examples of its uses:

(1) as *Wrong*: ขอโทษ, ขอภัยโทษ: to ask for forgiveness of *wrong* done. For comparison with the Sanskrit no classical example has occurred to me, but Apte, in his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Bombay 1893), gives, under 'Apology': *Svadoṣa Svikārah*, which is suggestive.

ขอโทษ is an abbreviated form of the above.

In medical parlance, it is used as in the Sanskrit, e.g. for *Vāyu-dosa*, we have: ลมให้โทษ, เสมหะให้โทษ, 'the wind-element causes a disorder, or phlegm causes a disorder'.

(2) as *Guilt*: which is also found in the original Sanskrit, there is โทษานุโทษ, *thosanūthos*, e.g. ลพมหาอาญาตามโทษานุโทษ, to inflict the King's punishment (*aya*) according to the magnitude of his guilt (*lit.* to his [greater] guilt or lesser guilt), and consequently the punishment prescribed for his offence.

(3) as *Punishment*: the word however has developed into punishment, for which no equivalent exists, I believe, in the original Sanskrit, thus: ครูลงโทษศิษย์, ครูทำโทษศิษย์, "the teacher punishes his pupil", and มีโทษผิด seems to indicate a sense of being guilty of some wrong (offence).

Thus *thos* has usurped the meaning of *thāṇṭh* (ทัณฑ์), which has almost dropped out of current speech except in proper names as กรมราชทัณฑ์ 'the Prison Department of the Government', and in a few compounds such as: โทษทัณฑ์, meaning 'punishment.'

It should also be noticed in this connection that another form looking almost alike, โทสา *thosa*, often โทโส *thoso*, meaning 'anger,' is known in Siamese. It is from the Pali *dosa* and the Sanskrit *dvesha*. The latter, (โทส, *thāwès*) too is found in poetical use but with a different meaning, i. e. 'sorrow'.

However the word is seldom used with its correct meaning of 'anger' except in priestly or educated circles, being replaced as a rule by โมโห, *moho*, (e.g. โมโหโกรธา, 'I am angry'), which in Pali designates 'infatuation.' The reason for this confusion may be that these two words, *doso* and *moho* (along with *lobho*) appear side by side in the enumeration of the 'three roots of evil,' known to all Siamese as they are the subject of countless sermons.

D.

IV

A FURTHER NOTE ABOUT KHU MU'ANG.

A propos of Major Seidenfaden's notes on Khu Mu'ang (JSS, vol. XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 105-110), the following additional information might be of interest:—

There exists a memorandum dated 1782 (1146 of the Little Era), bearing the statements of a former official in charge of the Sacred Footprint (Phrabad), who was questioned by a committee as to the past general administration of the shrine. The result of the enquiry is recorded in the form of a statement (คำให้การ) which was a common way of recording an enquiry into any important subject. Now, since the fall of Ayudhya King Taksin was so busy with his wars of deliverance that he hardly had any time left for much else. As his wars were being successfully terminated he unfortunately lost his reason. Anarchy followed until King Rama I started the reorganisation of administration in 1780. It is possible therefore that the process was just extending to Phrabad in 1782 by the appointment of a new curator who was president of the above-mentioned committee of investigation. The former official, known as Khun Khlon, is stated to have served under the monarchs of Ayudhya now known as King Boromakos or "The late King" (1732-1758) and the King of the Suriyamarind Mansion (1758-1767). This 'statement' was published in 1918 (B. E. 2461) in the 7th part of the Prachum Phongsawadar.

The gist of the statement as far as concerns Khu Mu'ang is as follows:—

Originally there used to be a township called Khidkhin (or Kitkin) which also had a Pali name "Parantapa". When, however, the Sacred Footprint was discovered 300 sen therefrom, the name Parantapa was transferred to the newly created township of Phrabad. The set of titles for the staff of its administrative council was also transferred along with the name of the district. The statement goes on to say that "whoever was not a native of the locality would not have been able to identify Parantapa at all, because the township had ceased to qualify as such long since, since the days, in fact, of King Kala. In that town there existed a double moat, four gates, namely: the Narrow Gate (Pratu Song), the Gate of Victory, the Water Gate, and the Gate of the Dead....." There was also a post for tying the white elephant on the mound of the palace, an ancient human skull which measured 8 *kam* (fist breadths). There were 15 monasteries, namely Wats: Dharmasena, Saraphi, Sak, Mahalok, Kok Ban Mo, Hua Tapan, Čæng Nang Phien Nang Phot, Ket, Sud, Khwid, Luang, Nakh, Phra Non, Phinoy, and Nonsi. There were 21 villages, namely: Ban Talatnoy, Ban Wat Taphan, Ban Khnon Sasong, Ban Yai, Ban Khamot, Ban Noy, Ban Kho Saraphi, Ban Rai, Ban Kramang, Ban Pla Khwan, Ban Bang Yani, Ban Bang Khamin, Ban Mabpho, Ban Khwang, Ban Makok, Ban Mò, Ban Nongcik, Ban Nongsrake, Ban Krau Krabtang. The distance from Khidkhin to the spring called Songkrib was 45 sen, thence to the Narai spring, 30 sen, and thence to the spring called *Thar thwai sor* (ເຊ່ນໄຫວ້ສອ), 200 sen"

The greater part of the 'statement' is occupied with a description of the shrine of the Sacred Footprint and its locality as well as the details and usages of its administration, civil as well as ecclesiastical.

From the above description one can readily identify this old township with the Khu Mu'ang of Major Seidenfaden. Examining the statement of Khun Khlon side by side with that of Major Seidenfaden we find quite accurate corroborations. Both mentioned the double moat, the mound of the palace or Kok Prasat with its elephant post and the gigantic skull. Some differences exist with regards to the gates, for Seidenfaden records five and many different names. The 'Narrow Gate' of Khun Khlon is not found in Seidenfaden's account, although it is quite possible that there still exists a gap which might have answered to the name in those days but has been forgotten.

The name of the second gate is found in Seidenfaden's map, but he was told that this (south-western) gap was one "of quite recent origin". Of the Water Gate no mention is made by Seidenfaden, but the "Gate of the Dead" was identified by him. Walled towns or citadels of any size, I believe, invariably had a front gate (the Gate of Victory), and a back one by which the bodies of dead warriors were carried out for final disposal (the Gate of the Dead). In this case perhaps the south gate and not the south west should have been its front gate—the original Gate of Victory. It follows too that whoever built this place—which by the way might best be called a citadel for reasons which will be explained later—must have been anticipating enemies from the south and south-west. As to the 15 wats and 21 villages within the civil administrative district of Parantapa, no doubt if a thorough examination were carried out on the spot there would be no difficulty in identifying them. From a glance at Seidenfaden's map one would be in the position to identify the following: Wat Dharmasena, Wat Saraphi, Wat Sak, Wat Koh Ban Mo, and Wat Tapan; and also the following villages: Ban Talat-noy, Ban Mo, Ban Yai, Ban Khamot, and Ban Saraphi. These villages are situated along the present railway line from north to south. Our map does not extend very far to the west of the citadel, and thus many villages are still unidentified. Major Seidenfaden might still identify others but unfortunately he happened to be away while this was being written. As regards the places mentioned in connection with distances, their names are worthy of note in that they show their connection with the Siamese legend of Rama. Khidkhin is obviously the local form of the Sanskrit Kishkindha, the capital of Sugriva's kingdom. The other names of the same township, Senaraja Nakhon (i. e. Nagara) and Parantapa, have not as far as I have been able to find out, been used either in the Indian epic or the Siamese legend of Rama to denote the capital of Sugriva. The name "Senaraja Nakhon" of the Phongsawadar Nu's might of course by a stretch of imagination be interpreted as "the capital of the lord of the forces", referring to Sugriva's position as generalissimo of Rama's main army, although it is to be doubted whether "Senaraja" was ever used in that sense in good Sanskrit. The names of the springs on the road, Songkrib and Narai, are highly suggestive. In the Lao legend of Rama, Sugriva is called Sangkib. It is a well known fact that the Lao never retains an *r* when compounded

with another consonant, and the identification of Songkrib would therefore seem to be reasonable, especially when the general's name is so prominent in this neighbourhood. Narai is of course the local form of Nārāyaṇa, or Viṣṇu. The name of the stream, *Thar thwai sor*, means the stream where the bow was presented. This probably refers to the Episode in the Ramakien when Rāma Sūr (i. e. the Paraçu Rāma of the Indian legend) was vanquished by Rama and made him a present of a divine bow. As a matter of fact the surrounding country abounds in names connected with the legend of Rama.

The above provides a confirmation of the existence of a civil administrative district centred around this citadel of Khu Muang. Our information does not warrant the conclusion that the district consisted exclusively of the stretch of land comprised within this double moat, for in its enumeration of villages and monasteries it went a long way north-east, east and south of it. It is therefore a confirmation, in my opinion, of Seidenfaden's conjecture that the site could never have been a town. As to his suggestion however of its having been an island temple surrounded by a double moat which would easily lend itself to an employment as a fortress or a point d'appui, I should rather be inclined to imagine that it was indeed a citadel topped by a Hindu sanctuary intended for purposes of moral stimulation to its defence.

Our information unfortunately clears up nothing as regard its history. Its mention of Phya Kalaraj leaves us where we were. This King, since whose days Parantapa had been left to ruin, is hard to identify. Who was he, when and over what territory did he reign? The 'statement' passes over his name in a casual way. Khun Khlon might have taken for granted that everybody knew about this monarch or he might have been unable to furnish any further information himself. There are three possible alternatives in this respect. First, it might refer to a definite person, in which case we can offer no further conjecture for we have no information at all about any king of that name. Secondly, it might have been an abbreviated form of a longer name, and thirdly it might have been used in the sense of an epithet meaning 'the Black King', in the same way as King Naresuan used to be called the Black Prince. In these two alternatives there are certain possibilities. The Phongsawadar Nu'a says that Lavo was founded in C. S. 459 (B. E.

1002) by King Kalavarnatissa, the son of King Kakaphat, reigning in Takkasila (? Cambodia) and some 500 years later King Kraisor of Lavo, son of the man who founded Bisnulok, sent men to build Senaraja Nakhon about 500 sen from his capital. The first named King, Kalavarnatissa, could not have been the one who left the citadel to ruin for the obvious reason that the Phongsawadar Nua dates him considerably before the foundation of Senaraja Nakhon. With regard therefore to its origin and early history it would seem that our new information leaves Major Seidenfaden's theory still unchallenged.

D.

Bangkok, 8th October 1934.

V

THE EARLIEST TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL INTO SIAMESE.

Among the many interesting documents preserved in the Library of the "Missions Etrangères" at headquarters in Paris is a roughly bound volume entitled: "Premier livre de l'Evangile mis en Siam par Mgr de Metellopolis et achevé en 1685."

The book consists of pages of stout coarse paper (estimated size about 10" x 7") covered with Siamese script of the slanting type used in the seventeenth century, prefaced by two lines in Pali characters, and written by hand with good black ink. The writing runs from left to right along the breadth of the pages, so that the book must be held broad-wise to be read.

The first two lines of Pali appear to be an invocation such as is often found at the beginning of Thai chronicles. It is followed by a free translation of the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, beginning at verse five, and introduced by a few words relating to the period in the world's history at which the narrative took place.

The translation is clearly what is known as a free translation, adapted for the understanding of Siamese readers to whom such Hebrew words as Jehovah would be incomprehensible. The word Angel is explained as มนต์พละ and the epithet for the Almighty is rendered by the Siamese phrase "อันัน ทัณัน". Modern translators have adhered more closely to the Greek text, with which both Vulgate and English Bible renderings here coincide; and it is open to question

นั้นนามชื่อว่านางเอตธำเบต แต่ทั้งภริยาและสามีนั้นก็มีศรัทธาในพระพุทธศาสนา
 ชื่อสัตย์ แต่สรีระชาติของพระมหาเถรคือพระรัตนนิพนธ์นางเอตธำเบตแต่
 ปลั่งใจจนถึงชราภาพหาบุตรมิได้ แต่อยู่มาในกาลวันหนึ่งได้เรียกอภัยยาน
 เข้าไปในพระวิหารถวายแก่พระมหาเถรตามแบบภรรยาที่แตก่อน ๑ จึงพระ
 มหาเถรเปรี๊ญนาฏ⁽¹⁾ ไชยมาห้อยยอคือพรหมเทวดาของชนทั้งนามชื่อว่าคาบิ
 เชนในอุณิถ์ลงมาในพระวิหาร แต่ได้เรียกนั้นที่ตนากะเหนมหาอภัย
 ยอนนั้นก็มีศรัทธาภิกษุสงฆ์คงคงใจด้วยยังนึกหน้าแถมหาอภัยยอภิกษุสงฆ์
 คงกล่าวว่า ดูกรได้เรียกอย่าไต่คงคงตนคงคงใจคงคงความปลั่งนาแห่ง
 ได้เรียกซึ่งโดยอภัยการชื่อพระมหาเถรแต่ก่อนแก่พระมหาเถรให้โดยนุยาติ
 ดำรงบริบูรณ์ในกาลบัดนี้ แต่ภริยาจักจทรงภักดิ์และประสูติบุตรชายของ
 นิง แต่ในกาลเมื่อบุตรจะสมบูรณ์การบังเกิดชอกมานั้น แด่น้ำชาติคน
 ทั้งหลายบังเกิดศรัทธาได้มาการชื่นชมยินดี แต่ท่านจงเอานามของไท
 เป็นนามกรแก่กุมารนั้น อนึ่งกุมารนั้นจะเป็นอธิบดีศักดิ์สิทธิ์พิทักษ์ชาวคง
 ทนั้พระมหาเถร แต่กุมารนั้นแนบยังไม่มียอกจากมาตุโครชแห่งมาตา
 คคิยอมาบริบูรณ์ด้วยพระพุทธรูปคงคงอานุภาพแห่งพระสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้า อนึ่ง
 กุมารนั้นบอกรวดของเทพ ด้วยมีศรัทธาขาดเคืองแล้วแต่จับคคิยอธรรมชก
 ชวนต้นตาลพลอยเทวให้คงคงคคิยอถนาค

(1) นฏ = beautiful woman? นก = Protector, charitable.

TRANSLATION.

In the days, four thousand years after the first beginnings of the world, when the earth and sky had their origin, there was reigning in Rome a great Monarch named Augustus Cæsar, whose sway extended over half the earth. The chief Minister appointed by Augustus Cæsar as ruler in Judæa was named Herod.

At that time there lived a famous man named Zacharia; his wife's name was Elizabel; the heart of both husband and wife was just before the Law, and they were renowned for their Faith and Trust in the Great Dewa, "he who overflows and who surpasses".

Now Elizabel, from early youth to old age was barren.

Upon a certain day Zacharia took incense and went into the Sanctuary to worship the great Dewa in accordance with ancient practice. Thereupon, the Great Dewa, supreme and charitable, despatched a mighty "Angel"—that is, one of the higher Dewada named Gabrien, with orders to descend into the Sanctuary.

When Zacharia saw that Angel, his heart fell and he was sore afraid; but the Angel spake and said.—

"O Zacharia, fear not, nor be dismayed: thy desire, which in former days thou didst plead before the Great Dewa, will now be granted, and thy wish fulfilled. Thy wife shall conceive and bear a male child, and at his birth men of all nations shall rejoice.

"Thou shalt give the name of John to thy son. Furthermore, he shall be a true Minister and perfect disciple of the Great Dewa, and even before he leaves his Mother's womb he shall abound in virtues and in the grace of The Great Spiritu Santo. Never will he drink intoxicating liquors, and he will endeavour to turn the hearts of the people of Judæa towards a renewal of the Faith....."

VI

A PROPOS DES LOIS SIAMOISES.

La première édition de Bradley.

Pour autant que je sache, la première édition du tome II des Lois procurée par D. B. Bradley manque à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vajirāvudh. L'édition la plus ancienne que renferme ce dépôt est la seconde, datée de 1229 C. S., c'est-à-dire 1867-1868 A. D. Les exemplaires de la première doivent être extrêmement rares. Pour ma part je n'en connais qu'un seul, venu entre mes mains il y a quelques années.

C'est un volume in-8, de pp. 513 + 2 p. n. c., qui mesure, après rognage, 240 x 143 mm., imprimé fort proprement sur un papier grisâtre, à raison de 21 à 23 lignes à la page, en règle générale. Il est daté de 1225 c. s., c'est-à-dire 1863-1864 A. D., et de la treizième année du règne de Mongkut.

Voici le libellé du titre :

หนังสือ | เรื่องกฎหมายเมืองไทย | ได้ทานแล้วถูกต้องกันกับ ฉบับหลวง
ทุกเล่ม | เมื่อจุลศักราช ๑๒๒๕ บัญญัติ^{๑๓} | กฎหมายทั้งหมดด้วย
กัน | เป็นหนังสือสมุดไทย ๕๕ เล่ม | ได้แบ่งทำเป็นหนังสือพิมพ์ สองเล่ม. |
ในเล่มที่ ๒ นั้น ๑๒ เรื่องตามที่ได้ออกไว้ | ในที่สุดหนังสือพิมพ์ น. | ชาวเจ้า
หมอบรัดเล, | ได้ตีพิมพ์ รวมขึ้นปากคดของบางหลวง. | ณกรุงเทพฯ

A la fin du volume, première page non chiffrée, v° de la page 513 et dernière, on trouve une table des matières précédée des trois lignes que voici :

๑ หนังสือเรื่องกฎหมาย

๑ จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๕ บัญญัติ^{๑๓}

ได้ตีพิมพ์ ในเล่ม ๒ นี้รวมกัน, เป็น ๑๒ เรื่องคือ

Ces deux textes infirment une assertion de M. Lingat, *L'Esclavage privé* . . . , pp. 28-29, d'après lequel "la tentative (de Nai Môt) fut reprise, avec plus de bonheur, une vingtaine d'années plus tard, par le missionnaire américain D. B. Bradley."

C'est en réalité quatorze ou quinze ans seulement après la tentative de Nai Môt (1849) que Bradley a publié le second volume de sa première édition.

On peut même déterminer plus précisément la date de publication de ce second volume, depuis que le Journal de Bradley est devenu accessible.⁽¹⁾ Sous la date du samedi 30 janvier 1864, Bradley écrit en effet :

(1) *Abstract of the Journal of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley M. D. Medical Missionary In Siam 1835-1873*, Edited by Rev. George Haws Feltus, A.M.B.D., Troy, New York, U. S. A., 1930, 1 vol. in-4, dactylographié, xv-418 pp., (series 3, copy 1).

"Having finished printing the Siamese Laws *several weeks since*, we took up a few days ago the Siamese History of the Kings of Siam from the founding of the city of Ayuthia and hope to put it through the press in four or five months."

D'où l'on peut inférer que l'achèvement du travail d'impression se place dans les derniers jours de 1863 ou les premiers de 1864. Voilà pour le second volume.

Quant au premier volume, je ne l'ai jamais vu en première, et la plus ancienne édition qu'en possède la Vajirāvudh est, à ma connaissance, la quatrième, datée de 1236 C. S. (1874 A. D.).

J'avais d'abord pensé que Bradley s'était contenté en 1863-1864 de compléter l'édition Môt dont le premier volume avait échappé à la destruction ordonnée par Phraḥ Nang Klao. Mais il n'en est rien, et la première édition de Bradley était bien une nouvelle édition complète du premier volume. En effet, à la date du 1^{er} mars 1862, Bradley écrit :

"My son C. B. [Cornelius Beach Bradley] has relieved me much in the printing office, engaged in printing the "Laws of Siam", . . .

Et à la date du 15 novembre 1862, Bradley écrit encore, avec toute la précision désirable :

"My time much occupied during all the week writing for my next calendar and proof reading. Printed the last form of the first volume of Siamese Laws being in all 62 forms. It has been in the press about 11 months".

Nous savons donc désormais :

(1) Que la première édition de Bradley comportait un premier volume, que ni moi, ni personne que je sache, n'avons jamais vu. Ce premier volume couvrait 62 feuilles ;

(2) Un exemplaire du deuxième volume de cette édition est connu ;

(3) L'impression du premier volume a commencé en décembre 1861 ou en janvier 1862, elle a duré environ 11 mois et elle s'est achevée entre le 8 et le 15 novembre 1862 ;

(4) L'impression du second volume était achevée plusieurs semaines avant le 30 janvier 1864. En gros, le travail d'impression des deux volumes avait duré deux ans.

C'est en 1861 que Bradley avait décidé d'imprimer les lois. Le samedi 10 août 1861 il écrit en effet dans son Journal :

I am much encouraged by the experiment we are making to obtain a part of our support by selling books on language, history, geography, the arts and sciences. It now seems to me that we should enlarge this branch of our business two or even threefold. We have many calls for the Siamese laws etc., which if we have (*sic*) them would sell to good profit.

J. B.

14 octobre, 1934.

VII

LES TROIS BANGKOK RECORDERS.

La *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, col. 782, consacre deux notices au *Bangkok Recorder*, la première, placée sous la rubrique *Bangkok Recorder*, vise l'édition siamoise, tandis que la seconde, placée sous la rubrique *The Bangkok Recorder*, a trait à l'édition anglaise. Ces deux notices, que H. Cordier a extraites d'un article du *Siam Repository* de janvier 1870 et de l'*Essay* de Sir Ernest Mason Satow, sont incomplètes et en partie inexactes. Comme le *Bangkok Recorder* est le premier périodique qui ait été publié au Siam, il nous a paru que ce serait faire œuvre utile que de compléter et de rectifier les notices de la *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, autant du moins que le permettent les documents dont nous disposons. On a même estimé qu'on devait profiter de l'occasion pour faire connaître aussi certains renseignements sur les débuts de la presse au Siam que contiennent ces vieilles publications, à peu près introuvables hors de Bangkok.

La Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok possède une collection complète du premier *Bangkok Recorder*.⁽¹⁾ Elle comprend seize numéros dont le premier est daté de juillet 1844⁽²⁾ et le dernier d'octobre 1845. Cette publication était éditée par les soins de la Mission protestante américaine A. B. C. F. M. (American Board of

(1) Cote m/aq. Provient de la bibliothèque de feu S. A. R. le prince Bhanurangsi.

(2) Il a été mis en vente le 4. A cette date, Bradley note dans son *Journal intime*: "Issued first number of Bangkok Recorder this day. It is a very small thing, but it may perhaps be the beginning of a great work in this line." (*Abstract of the Journal of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley*, Edited by Rev. George Hays Feltus M. D. B. D., Troy New York, 1930, p. 129).

Commissioners for Foreign Missions), établie au Siam depuis 1831, et était imprimée sur les presses appartenant à la Mission.⁽¹⁾ En fait, le Rev. D. B. Bradley paraît en avoir assumé seul toute la charge.⁽²⁾ Le titre complet est *หนังสือจดหมายเหตุ Bangkok Recorder*. Il résulte d'une notice insérée à la fin des numéros 2 à 5 et 14 à 16 que ce périodique paraissait le premier jeudi de chaque mois. Le prix de l'abonnement annuel resta fixé, pendant la première année, à un tical, ou 60 cents (de Mexican dollar). Pour la seconde année, qui commence au numéro 13, ce prix fut abaissé à un salting ou 15 cents, et les éditeurs offrirent même de servir le journal gratuitement à tous les fonctionnaires et à tous les dignitaires du clergé bouddhique qui en feraient la demande. Chaque numéro comporte 4 pages rédigées entièrement en siamois, à l'exception de quelques courtes notices relatives au prix de l'abonnement et d'un avis de faire-part du décès de Mrs. Bradley, rédigés en anglais. Les titres de tous les articles sont donnés en anglais, quelquefois avec leur traduction en siamois.

La lecture de ce premier *Bangkok Recorder*, ancêtre de la presse siamoise⁽³⁾, est, il faut l'avouer, fort ingrate. On y trouve des articles de physique, de chimie, voire de philologie, des fables, de nombreux articles de physiologie et de médecine. On y trouve aussi des nouvelles d'Europe, d'Amérique, de Chine et de Singapour. Mais le Siam en est presque entièrement absent. Un seul article de quelque étendue traite d'un sujet local. Il est intitulé "Statistics of Ardent Spirit in Siam"⁽⁴⁾ et fournit quelques données sur la quantité d'alcool distillé consommé annuellement à Bangkok et dans les provinces. Les seules nouvelles locales qui soient enregistrées sont les succès chirurgicaux du Rev. Bradley qui, comme on le sait, poursuivit, parallèlement à sa carrière d'éditeur, une carrière pour le moins aussi

(1) Les seules presses existant alors au Siam étaient la propriété de la Mission A.B.C.F.M. et de la Mission baptiste (George Bradley McFarland, *n.d.*, *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam*, Bangkok, 1928, p. 16).

(2) Daniel Beach Bradley, né à Marcellus (Etat de New York) le 18 juillet 1804, était arrivé à Bangkok le 18 juillet 1835. Il ne retourna en Amérique qu'une seule fois, de février 1847 à mai 1850 et mourut à Bangkok le 23 juin 1873.

(3) No. 6 (décembre 1844), p. 22.

(4) Il convient toutefois de signaler que Bradley avait commencé, dès le mois de janvier 1843, la publication d'un almanach annuel en siamois, dont nous n'avons pu découvrir aucun exemplaire.

brillante de médecin et de chirurgien. Il convient de noter aussi l'extrême rareté des articles concernant la religion et l'absence complète de tout esprit de prosélytisme. Aussi bien, les silences du *Bangkok Recorder* sont significatifs. La défiance générale à l'encontre de tout ce qui venait de l'étranger et la politique d'isolement que poursuivait alors le gouvernement siamois imposaient aux éditeurs une prudence et des réserves qui privaient leur entreprise de son principal intérêt et la condamnaient d'avance à l'insuccès.

Le seizième numéro du *Bangkok Recorder*, qui termine la collection conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok, ne mentionne pas que la publication dûl cesser avec ce numéro. On y trouve, au contraire, la notice habituelle sur le jour de la publication et le prix de l'abonnement annuel. Le Journal intime de Bradley, pourtant si plein d'informations précieuses sur son activité d'éditeur, ne contient de même aucun renseignement sur la fin du *Bangkok Recorder*. On va bientôt voir pourquoi il est cependant possible d'affirmer que le numéro 16 (octobre 1845) marque bien le terme de la carrière du premier périodique paru sous ce nom.

Le 16 janvier 1865, le *Bangkok Recorder*, selon l'expression employée par Bradley dans son Journal intime, "ressuscitait" sous une forme nouvelle.⁽¹⁾ L'éditorial du premier numéro contient les lignes

(1) Rev. George Haws Feltus, *op. laud.*, p. 333. Dans l'intervalle avaient paru deux périodiques, le *Rājakicānupekā* ou Gazette royale et le *Siam Times*. On se propose de revenir plus tard sur le premier dont l'existence, au début laborieuse, s'est prolongée jusqu'à nos jours. Pour le *Siam Times*, nous n'avons pu jusqu'à présent en découvrir aucun exemplaire. Aux renseignements recueillis dans la *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, on peut seulement ajouter que ce périodique a cessé de paraître à la fin de décembre 1865 ou au début de 1866. Il résulte, en effet, de l'éditorial du numéro 23 (16 décembre 1865) du second *Bangkok Recorder* que le *Siam Times* existait encore dans la première quinzaine de décembre 1865. D'autre part, le numéro suivant contient un avis annonçant pour le 11 janvier 1866 la vente aux enchères des effets de J. H. Chandler, y compris ses presses et son matériel d'imprimerie. J. H. Chandler, propriétaire et éditeur du *Siam Times*, appartenait à la Mission baptiste. Il quitta définitivement le Siam le 1^{er} avril 1868.—Une liste des périodiques parus au Siam publiée en 1929 par les soins de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (สมุดพิมพ์ที่ออกตีพิมพ์ในประเทศไทย) place en 1864 l'apparition d'un autre journal hebdomadaire, le *Bangkok Press*, qui aurait disparu dans le cours de la même année. Nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace de son existence ni dans le Journal intime de Bradley ni dans le *Bangkok Recorder*.

suivantes: "... About twenty years ago, there was a journal issued from this office, to which was given the name of Bangkok Recorder. It was wholly in the Siamese language, and we trust was the means of conveying to many of this people useful information.

"They were not however yet in a condition to appreciate such an enterprise, and partly on account of sickness in the family of one the parties concerned, and the increased duties of the other, it was discontinued, after a brief, but we trust useful existence of one year and three months. . ."

Ainsi, le premier *Bangkok Recorder*, d'après le témoignage de son propre éditeur, n'a pas été au delà du seizième numéro.

Le second *Bangkok Recorder* devait durer deux années complètes. La Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok n'en possède aucun exemplaire. Nous n'avons pu dépouiller que le premier volume, réunissant les numéros de la première année, dans un exemplaire provenant d'une bibliothèque privée. Cette première année va du 16 janvier au 30 décembre 1865, et comprend 24 numéros datés en général du 1^{er} et du 16 de chaque mois. Chaque numéro comporte dix pages, à l'exception des nos. 9 (16 mai) et 13 (15 juillet) qui en ont douze. L'ensemble forme un volume in-4" (310 à 330/250 mm. pour les quinze premiers numéros, 310/230 pour les suivants) de 244 pages précédées de deux feuillets non numérotés, l'un pour le titre, l'autre contenant une table des matières sous la forme d'un index alphabétique. Le titre imprimé en tête de chaque numéro est libellé comme suit: "Bangkok Recorder. A semi-monthly Journal, Res politicae, Literatura, Scientia, Commercium, Res loci, et in omnibus Veritas." La première page de chaque numéro porte en outre la notice suivante:

"A Semi-monthly journal will be issued from the printing office of the American Missionary Association, at the mouth of the Canal, "Klawng Bangkok Yai" ⁽¹⁾ about the 1st and 15th of every month. It will contain such Political, Literary, Scientific, Commercial, and Local intelligence, as shall render it worthy of the general patronage.

"The Recorder will be open to Correspondents subject to usual restrictions.

"The proprietors will not be responsible for the sentiments of their correspondents.

(1) Les deux premiers numéros portent ici "Klawng Bang Luang." Le changement a été apporté à la suite d'une note du roi Mongkut mentionnée au n°3 (p. 28).

"No communications will be admitted unless accompanied by the name of the Correspondent.

"No rejected manuscript will be returned unless as a special favor.

Terms of Subscription.

Yearly in advance	\$ 8,00
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Quarterly	\$ 2,25
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" " Non, do,	\$ 0,45

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Communications and remittances can be sent to either of the subscribers, or left at the store of Messrs. Virgin & Co.

{ N. A. Mc. Donald Editor
 { D. B. Bradley Publisher

A l'exception des trois premiers numéros qui contiennent chacun une ou deux pages de texte siamois, le nouveau *Bangkok Recorder* est rédigé entièrement en anglais. Cette fois, on a bien affaire à un journal d'information, où la vie locale tient la première place. Dans chaque numéro un éditorial commente les événements les plus saillants de la quinzaine écoulée. En dehors de la chronique locale, des articles parfois d'une grande étendue fournissent d'utiles renseignements sur le Siam de cette époque.⁽¹⁾ Un trait tout à fait remarquable est la liberté avec laquelle l'éditeur exprime ses opinions, n'épargnant pas davantage dans sa censure les plus hauts personnages du pays que les représentants diplomatiques étrangers. Naturellement, la polémique religieuse ne fait pas non plus défaut. Ce changement radical dans le contenu et le ton du nouveau *Bangkok Recorder* est un des témoignages les plus saisissants que nous connaissions de la transformation provoquée dans le pays par l'avènement

⁽¹⁾ On signalera notamment: A visit to Pra pra-t'oma-chedee, p. 24-25, 35; Chiang Mai Trip, p. 32-33, 42-43, 65-66, 73-74, 136; A tour to the Hot Springs, p. 97-98, 109-110, 119; Wat Visiting, p. 129-201.

du roi Mongkut. L'éditorial du premier numéro rend compte de cette transformation dans les termes suivants :

"Things have changed materially in Siam since the Recorder made its first appearance. The late king had decided upon an exclusive policy. Supposing himself to be the greatest monarch of the day, he was disposed to have but little to do with those whom he considered his inferiors. No one was permitted to see him, unless by accident. Not seeming to know the old proverb that, "A cat may look at a king," when he made his annual visits to the Wats, foreigners were forced by his officers into their houses, and the doors shut, and they were obliged to look through the bars like the inmates of some menagery.

"A Prince more friendly disposed to foreigners, has since ascended the throne, and those foolish restrictions have in a great measure been removed. Commercial treaties have been negotiated with the Western powers, so that even here "Japheth dwells in the tents of Shem in security."

"The western arts and sciences have also been introduced to some extent, so that when we hear the snort of the engine, or the shriek of the whistle, we almost forget the surroundings, and imagine ourselves for a time in the western world".

C'est évidemment le spectacle de cette transformation qui a déterminé les éditeurs à faire reparaitre le *Bangkok Recorder* et à imprimer à la publication nouvelle un caractère qui contraste si fort avec le timide essai tenté vingt ans plus tôt.

Dans le dernier numéro du 1^{er} volume du *Bangkok Recorder* (n^o. 24 du 30 décembre 1865, p. 241), Bradley annonce qu'il se propose pour l'année suivante de modifier le format du journal qui comportera désormais une seule feuille pliée en deux et de le convertir en un journal hebdomadaire paraissant le jeudi qui aura, d'avantage encore que dans l'année écoulée, le caractère d'un journal d'information. Il annonce également que le journal paraîtra désormais sous sa seule responsabilité, le Rev. N. A. McDonald, en raison de l'accroissement de ses charges de missionnaire, devant cesser de participer à l'édition. Enfin, la même notice donne le tarif de l'abonnement, qui est exactement le double de l'année précédente, à l'exception du prix du numéro qui reste fixé à 30 cents pour les abonnés et qui est réduit à 40 cents pour les non-abonnés.

On n'a pu mettre la main sur aucun numéro du *Bangkok Recorder* de la seconde année. Mais on sait par les extraits du journal intime de Bradley publiés par le Rev. George Haws Feltus, que le premier numéro de la nouvelle série a été mis en vente le 13 janvier 1866 et que la publication a été poursuivie jusqu'au 52^e numéro, paru le 17 janvier 1867.⁽¹⁾ Le second volume réunit donc, comme le premier, une année complète.

L'existence d'une édition siamoise du *Bangkok Recorder* permet heureusement de suppléer en partie aux lacunes de notre information concernant la seconde année de l'édition anglaise. Elle permet notamment de préciser les raisons pour lesquelles la publication n'a pas été continuée. Mais auparavant, il convient de retracer la carrière de ce troisième avatar du *Bangkok Recorder*.

On a vu que le second *Bangkok Recorder* avait été d'abord bilingue. A partir du quatrième numéro, la partie siamoise disparaît. Mais à ce moment fait son apparition un périodique indépendant, entièrement rédigé en siamois et intitulé: *หนังสือสยามไทย*. The *Bangkok Recorder*. Cette édition siamoise du *Bangkok Recorder* devait exister parallèlement à l'édition anglaise pendant deux ans, du 1^{er} mars 1865 au 16 février 1867. La collection forme deux volumes in-4° (265/220 et 265/210 mm) de 244 et 305 pages dont il existe pour chacun un exemplaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok.⁽²⁾ Cette publication resta jusqu'à la fin bi-mensuelle. Le prix de l'abonnement était de 5 ticaux pour un an et de 3 ticaux pour six mois. Le prix du numéro était pour les abonnés de 1 salu'ng 1 fu'ang et pour les acheteurs au numéro de 2 salu'ng. Le numéro, après avoir été d'abord de 4, 5 et 8 pages, a comporté, à partir du huitième numéro douze pages et exceptionnellement quatorze. Une notice insérée dans certains numéros de la première année porte comme co-propriétaires du Journal, D. B. Bradley et N. A. Mc Donald. Mais le titre du volume I, imprimé vraisemblablement à la fin de la première année, ne mentionne que le nom de Bradley, ce qui paraît indiquer que ce dernier a en réalité assumé seul la charge de l'édition dès le début.

(1) Rev. George Haws Feltus, *op. laud.*, pp. 341 à 349.

(2) Cotes ๒๔ et ๒๕. Il manque 8 pages du premier volume et 21, dont tout le n°3, du second.

Comme l'édition anglaise, l'édition siamoise du *Bangkok Recorder* contient un certain nombre d'articles d'intérêt général, dont plusieurs sont de la plume du roi Mongkut : articles de toponymie, de polémique religieuse, d'ethnographie, etc.⁽¹⁾ Elle reproduit même quelques articles scientifiques du premier *Bangkok Recorder*. Mais, d'une manière générale, les actualités y tiennent une place plus grande que dans le premier volume de l'édition anglaise. Les événements, du reste, sont commentés avec la même indépendance et les critiques sont tout aussi hardies. L'éditeur se fait volontiers l'écho des doléances des particuliers contre les abus dont ils sont victimes. Mais cette source abondante de copie a été tarie, dès la fin de la première année, par un décret du roi rappelant à ses sujets que la procédure régulière en pareil cas est de lui adresser une pétition et leur défendant de saisir la presse de leurs griefs,—décret contre lequel Bradley n'a pas manqué de protester, mais sans résultat. Un bon nombre d'articles ont pour but de dénoncer au public l'activité politique du consul de France Aubaret, et sa prétendue ingérence dans les affaires intérieures du Siam. Cette campagne s'est terminée par une lettre d'excuse de Bradley reconnaissant qu'il avait été mal informé, lettre qui fut insérée, nous le savons par son *Journal intime*,⁽²⁾ dans le dernier numéro de l'édition anglaise du *Bangkok Recorder* et dont une traduction figure dans l'avant-dernier numéro de l'édition siamoise. Cette démarche n'a d'ailleurs pas arrêté les poursuites engagées par Aubaret devant le tribunal consulaire américain, et en février 1867 Bradley fut condamné pour diffamation à 100 dollars de dommages-intérêts au profit du consul de France.

Les soucis que lui causa cette malheureuse affaire ne manquèrent sans doute pas de contribuer à détourner Bradley du journalisme. Mais sa détermination était prise bien avant le jugement qui devait le confirmer dans son amertume. Dès le 1^{er} décembre 1866, c'est-à-dire avant même qu'Aubaret eût engagé les poursuites, Bradley écrit dans son *Journal intime* qu'il se sent de plus en plus convaincu qu'il est de son devoir de cesser la publication de l'édition anglaise du

(1) Quelques-uns de ces articles ont été recueillis dans ไบรอนคดีสโมสร
ขุนบรมสมมติยศในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, publié par la Bibliothèque Vajirafāna en 2457 z. b. (1915).

(2) Rev. George Haws Feltus, *op. laud.*, p. 348.

Bangkok Recorder à la fin du second volume, parce que cette publication ne lui laisse pas assez de temps pour s'attacher comme il conviendrait aux œuvres essentielles de sa tâche de missionnaire⁽¹⁾. Dans le numéro du 5 janvier 1867 de l'édition siamoise, il annonce publiquement que l'édition anglaise prendra fin à l'achèvement du second volume, et il laisse entendre qu'il en sera de même pour l'édition siamoise. En effet le numéro du 16 février 1867 de l'édition siamoise contient une notice avertissant les lecteurs que le journal cessera de paraître après ce numéro. Dans cette notice, Bradley explique sans détour que la raison principale qui l'oblige à abandonner son entreprise est l'hostilité du gouvernement siamois. "Au début, dit-il en substance, le gouvernement était favorable à ce journal. Aussi tout le monde s'accordait à le trouver éminemment utile, et nombreux étaient ceux qui l'achetaient. Mais, dans la suite, le journal a cessé de plaire en haut lieu, et le nombre des lecteurs a diminué au point qu'il n'est plus possible d'en assurer la continuation qu'au prix de lourds sacrifices." En fait, le numéro du 15 avril 1866 de l'édition siamoise nous apprend que le journal était tiré à 300 exemplaires au plus. Le numéro du 31 janvier 1866 fournit les noms des abonnés à l'édition siamoise. Cette liste comporte 102 noms; en tête figure celui du roi. Cinq noms sont d'apparence européenne. D'une notice insérée dans le numéro du 15 mai 1866, il résulte que le journal se vendait à cette date à 150 exemplaires. Enfin, la notice publiée dans le numéro du 5 janvier 1867 porte que le nombre des exemplaires vendus n'atteignait pas 140. On comprend que Bradley, qui se plaint par ailleurs d'être insuffisamment aidé dans sa besogne d'éditeur, se soit découragé en se voyant si mal payé de sa peine⁽²⁾.

(1) Rev. George Haws Feltus, *op. laud.*, p. 346.

(2) Cette déception n'empêcha pourtant pas Bradley, trois mois après le dernier numéro du *Bangkok Recorder*, de s'intéresser au lancement et à la publication d'un nouveau périodique, *The Siam Weekly Monitor*. Bien que ce journal ait paru sous la seule responsabilité de E. D'Encourt, qui en était à la fois "Editor, Publisher and Proprietor," il résulte, en effet, des extraits du Journal intime de Bradley publiés par le Rev. George Haws Feltus que Bradley ne s'est pas borné à en assurer l'impression, mais qu'il en a surveillé la rédaction et y a collaboré plus ou moins ouvertement. Cette nouvelle entreprise ne lui rapporta guère que des déboires, et faillit même lui attirer des poursuites, cette fois de la part de son propre consul, J. M. Hood. La faillite de D'Encourt mit fin brusquement à la publication, au cours de la

En résumé, il convient de substituer aux notices consacrées au *Bangkok Recorder* dans la *Bibliotheca Indosinica* les notices suivantes.

| ๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒ | Bangkok Recorder. |

Publication mensuelle de langue siamoise éditée à Bangkok par la mission protestante américaine A. B. C. F. M. Le premier numéro est daté de juillet 1844, le 16^e et dernier d'octobre 1845. Forme un vol. in-4° (240/280 mm.) de 48 + 16 p.

Bangkok Recorder. | A semi monthly Journal | Res politicae, Literatura, Scientia, commercium, Res loci, et in omnibus veritas | (avec un peu de siamois dans les trois premiers numéros). Publication bi-mensuelle de langue anglaise éditée à Bangkok par N. A. Mc Donald et D. B. Bradley. Le premier numéro est daté du 16 janvier 1865, le 24^e et dernier du 30 décembre 1865.

Forme un vol. in-4° (310 à 330/250 mm. pour les quinze premiers numéros, 310/230 pour les suivants) de 2 f.n.n. + 244 p. Le premier f. n.n. contient le titre ainsi libellé : | The | Bangkok Recorder. | A Semi-monthly journal. | Edited By—Rev. N. A. Mc Donald A. M. | Printed at the Press of the American Missionary Association | Bangkok—1865. | Le second f.n.n. contient la table sous forme d'index.

Continué par D. B. Bradley seul, sous la forme d'un périodique hebdomadaire paraissant le jeudi. Le premier le numéro a paru le 13 janvier 1866, le 52^e et dernier, le 17 janvier 1867.

seconde année. La Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok possède une collection très incomplète du *Siam Weekly Monitor* (Elle va du numéro 41 du Vol. I, daté du 26 février 1868 au numéro 15 du Vol. II, daté du 29 Août 1868. Manquent les numéros 43 et 47 du Vol. I et les numéros 1, 2, 5 et 9 à 14 du Vol. II.—Cote Aa 1), mais suffisante néanmoins pour des indications bibliographiques. On en profite pour les donner ici, la notice de la *Bibliotheca Indosinica* ne contenant de renseignements précis et exacts que sur le nom du périodique et la date du premier numéro :

| The Siam Weekly Monitor. | And Bangkok Journal of Commerce. |
Au-dessus du titre sont figurés : un éléphant, un œil et un tigre.

Publication hebdomadaire ayant paru le mercredi pendant la première année et ensuite le jeudi. Éditée à Bangkok par E. D'Encourt. Rédigée en siamois et en anglais, mais l'anglais domine.

Le premier numéro est daté du 23 mai 1867, le quinzième numéro de la seconde année et dernier, du 29 août 1868.

Chaque numéro comprend 4 p. n. n. in folio (365/305 mm. après rognage).

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Publication bi-mensuelle de langue siamoise éditée à Bangkok par D. B. Bradley

Le premier numéro du vol. I est daté du 1^{er} mars 1865, le numéro 24 du vol. II est daté du 16 février 1867.

Forme 2 vol. in-4° (265/220 et 265/210 mm. après rognage) de 244 et 305 p.

Le vol. I est précédé de 1 f.n.n. pour le titre ainsi libellé :

| © หนังสือจดหมายเหตุ | The Bangkok Recorder | เดิมทีหนังสือ | ครั้ง
เดือน ๕ ขึ้น ๗ ค่ำ รุ่งศักราช ๑๒๒๒ ปีฉลู ยังเป็นหนังสือ | จน ถึง เดือน ๕
ขึ้นคาบทาง ปีฉลู ๑๒๒๓ | เจ้าพระยาหมอบรรดได้ดัดแปลง | เป็น ๒๔. ยก
ด้วยกัน—ลงพิมพ์ที่กรุงเทพฯ เดือนระ ๒ ยก— Il comporte encore 4 p.
supplémentaires contenant un index alphabétique.

R. Lingat

VIII

NOTE EXPLAINING THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE TOWN PAKNAMPŌH IN THE PROVINCE OF NAKORN SAWAN.

I have often wondered why the name Paknampoh (ปากน้ำโพ) was given to the place of that name, and I think many others must have had their curiosity aroused in the same manner. The word Paknampoh means the mouth of the river Poh or Poh mouth. I have asked many Siamese where the river Poh is, and have not yet received a satisfactory reply, in fact, they express ignorance. I pointed out that centuries ago the lower reaches of the river Ping might have been called the Poh, and that this name has been forgotten, only remaining as the name of the town, but this suggestion did not elicit any information. To-day while turning over the pages of the abridged version of the history of Ayudhia published in R. S. 117 (A. D. 1898), and again in R. S. 120 (A. D. 1909), (p. 1 of the R. S. 117 ed.), I came across a reference to this river. This history states that a King of Chiengrai, having been defeated by a King of Satong (the

Mon capital, Thaton or Saterng), retreated taking away with him the population. He came south, and eventually crossed the river Poh to the western bank opposite Kampengpet. He found the remains of an old city at this spot called Muang Pæb, and built a new one known as Krai Krung (ไคร้กรุง) on the old site. Now this river Poh is the lower portion of the river Ping (แม่น้ำปิง). It is but reasonable to assume that in olden days, the river Ping from its source to its junction with the Me Vang (แม่น้ำแคว), above Raheng (ราหัง), was known as the Ping river, but after the junction of these two streams the river was known as the Poh, hence Paknampoh (Poh mouth).

Some two days journey above Kampengpet, there is a Tambol called Pakyom (ปากยม), the mouth of the Yom. Can it be that the river Yom in ancient days found its outlet here, and that the present channel which joins the Menam Nan (แม่น้ำน่าน) near Chum Seng (ชุมแสง) is of comparatively modern date. If the Yom joined the Ping at the place called Pakyom, then it may be that the name of the river Ping was changed to the river Poh after its junction with the River Yom. I think for historical reasons that a survey should be made to ascertain whether the ancient bed of the river Yom came south, and the mouth of the river was at the place called Pak Yom.

H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphab in his diary of a journey down the Ping river to Paknampoh (ปากน้ำปิง) published in B. E. 2461 (A. D. 1921) was not struck by the idea that if there was a Paknampoh, there must have been a Poh river, for he calls the whole waterway the Ping river.

The history I have referred to would seem to have been compiled from the works of Prince Paramanuchit (กรมหมื่นปาริชาติ) and the Chiengsen and Yonaka Chronicles.

F. H. GILES,

1/1/1935.

IX

WHO WAS DHARMARĀJĀ I OF SUKHOThai?

The King who has been known up to now as Dharmarājā the first of Sukhothai was the fifth monarch of the Phra Ruang dynasty, otherwise named Lithai or Lideyya. He it was who succeeded

Leethai, his father, after encountering some opposition. He it was also who erected the *stūpa* of the Great Relic of Nakhon Jum, concerning which we have an important inscription (No. III in Coëdès' *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, part I). He it was also who invited a learned monk from Ceylon, received him with much pomp and hospitality, and finally took holy orders himself for a time under his preceptorship (Inscr. IV, V, *ibid.*). Him it was that this learned monk wrote of as "Liberal as Vessantara, wise as . . . , and strict in his observance of the Code of morals as King Silava, worthy of the commendation of the learned, proficient in Astronomy learned in the Holy Scriptures" (Inscr. VI, *ibid.*). He it was also who is known to have written perhaps the oldest surviving treatise in Siamese Literature—the Traibhūmikathā, now known as the "Traiphūm Phra Ruang."

With every diffidence in contradicting the assignation of this ordinal number to King Lithai, I am afraid that certain facts have rendered it impossible for me to accept it, for the following reasons:—

(1) Of the first three kings of the Phra Ruang dynasty, there can be no reason whatever for calling them Dharmarājā, for no claim to the title has been known to have been advanced. Their relationship to one another too is unquestionable. The founder of the dynasty, Sri Indrāditya, was father to both the second and third kings—Bān Muang and Rāma Kamhæng.

Now, Inscription II (face I, lines 37-8) says:

“ ๓๗ พุทธโอรสทรงกระทำกบฏขึ้นตั้งธรรมราชาฟ. โอรสพระมโหฬาร ”

The passage was translated by Coëdès (*Recueil*, I, p. 64) thus:

“ Un petit-fils de Ba Khun Sri Indrāditya nommé Dharmarāja, connaissant les mérites, connaissant la Loi, était doué d'une sagesse sans borne ”

Professor Coëdès has also a foot note under “ Dharmarājā ” thus: “ Dharmarāja I.”

Since Rāma Kamhæng was the son of Sri Indrāditya, it would follow that the grandson of the latter must have been Leethai, the fourth king of the dynasty, and not Lithai who was not a grandson but a great-grandson. It is true that the description of his wisdom and learning conforms rather to what has been known of Lithai than his father Leethai, but there is really nothing to disprove that the father too might have been “ wise and learned ” for in fact we have almost no statement so far about his personality.

Unless therefore the meaning of the word *ṇāṭu* (i. e. grandson) could be stretched to cover another generation, there would seem to be more reason to regard Loethai as the "Dharmarāja" referred to in Inscr. II as quoted above.

(2) In support of the above I would beg to quote another source, quite apart from the inscriptions. The *Jinakālamālinī* says:

"Sumana took the relic and went to Sajjanalai, where a son of *Dharmarāja* named *Lideyyarāja* (i. e. Lithai) was then reigning". (*Jinakālamālinī*, Siamese transl., R. S. 127, p. 170; also Coëdès: *Documents sur le Laos occidental*, BEFEO, XXV, p. 96).

This evidence, admittedly not so reliable as the inscriptions, is nevertheless valuable in so far as it confirms their statement. The work was written in 1516 A. D. by a monk of Chiangmai named Ratanapañña. It is open to question as to whether he had any access to the inscription now before us. I am inclined to think he had not, for, if he had, he would not have recorded facts so contradictory to the inscription, such for example as saying that Rāmarāja (i. e. Rāma Kamhæng) succeeded his father and was succeeded in turn by Pālarāja (Ban Muang) his brother.

Professor Coëdès, in his "*Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya*" (BEFEO, XVII, 1917, p. 45), thus commented on the passage:

"D'après J. (*Jinakālamālinī*), Lideyya en 1355 A. D., gouvernait Sajjanālaya en qualité d'uparāja de son père *Dhammarāja*, roi de Sukhodaya. Mais, dira-t-on, cette même *Jinakālamālinī* ne dit-elle pas un peu plus loin que *Dhammarāja* est un surnom de Lideyya; et ne s'agit-il pas d'un seul et même personnage? Pas nécessairement. L'épigraphie nous montre que le titre de *Dhammarāja*, porté par Lidaïya (= Lithai or Lideyya) l'a été aussi par ses successeurs jusque dans le courant du XV^e siècle. Il peut fort bien l'avoir été par son prédécesseur, et il n'y a pas forcément contradiction entre les deux passages de la *Jinakālamālinī*." The italics are mine.

(3) The inscription of Nakhon Jum (No. III in the *Recueil*, I), set up in 1357 by King Lithai, commences by saying that King Lithai was the son of Lu'athai (i. e. Loethai) and the grandson of Rāma (i. e. Rāma Kamhæng). After setting forth its main object—the commemoration of the installation at Nakhon Jum of a holy relic brought from Ceylon, with admonitions of a theological character involving lengthy calculations of time so dear to the heart of that monarch—it goes on to eulogise King Lithai and then to relate of

the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom under his grandfather Rāmarāja (face 2, line 12). Although unfortunately this part of the stone is very mutilated, yet we have the mention, immediately after Rāma Kamhæng's reign, of a successor "to the throne of his ancestors" (line 24) who ruled in righteousness (line 26), levying no duty on inheritance etc. (line 44, and was enabled by the merit of that righteousness to rule a long time (lines 46-7). It sums up (lines 29-30) by saying that ".....(under Dhar) mikarāja the kingdom was happy to live in."

The point here revolves round the personality of the King "Dharmikarāja" or Dharmarāja. It has been understood up to now that the epithet here referred to King Lithai (*Recueil*, I, p. 78). Professor Coedès summed up (*ibid.*) the passage from face I, line 64 to face II, line 47, as an 'eulogy of the King' etc. I do not however think that it referred to King Lithai alone. The passage begins, it is true, with an eulogy of that King, but on face II line 12 it goes back to the time of Rāmarāja—as I have already pointed out; and even to a successor (line 24), whom it styles Dharmika ('the righteous') (line 30).

Now, considering that the passage comes directly after detailing the prosperity and happiness of Rāma Kamhæng's time, it seems but natural to expect that his successor—Læthai—must have been the next King to be mentioned, and that therefore the epithet "Dharmikarāja" applied to him. Besides, since King Lithai's eulogy has just been concluded above, it seems hardly likely that he could be again referred to here in this way.

I have come therefore to the conclusion that in this last part of the inscription, after eulogies of his own wisdom and erudition, King Lithai had eulogies of his two immediate predecessors added on and that therefore the "Dharmikarāja" here referred to King Læthai and not his son as has been generally thought.

(4) The Buddha's Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai is again mentioned in a few other places and gives us further clues to the identification of King Læthai as the Dharmikarāja or Dharmarāja.

In Inscription VIII (*Recueil*, I) which commemorated the installation of the Footprint on this mount, we have the statement that the King came to pay his respects to the Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭa 'which his own father set up' (face 4 lines 16-17).

The inscription is undated, but, since it names *King Āri Suriyabongs Mahādharmarāja*, it has been thought that the King was Lithai's son, to whom this name has been attributed by scholars. I believe however that it could have been none other than Lithai himself for I have evidences of his having been called this name. King Lithai unfortunately bore both the names of *Āri Suriyabongs Rāma Mahādharmarāja* (Insc. IV, face I, lines 12-13; V, face I, line 14 etc.) and also *Āri Suriyabongs Mahādharmarāja*—without the *Rāma*—(Insc. III, face I, line 7; IV, face 3, line 58; VII, face II, lines 32-33 etc.). According therefore to my belief, the father who set up this Footprint was King Læthai, and the King who made the great pilgrimage was Lithai. In short I believe that we should move up one reign for both of these events.

To sum up then, I venture to submit that not only King Lithai and his successors, but also King Læthai, his immediate predecessor, was known as Dharmarāja or Dharmikarāja, both titles being identical, because:

(1) Inscription II (face II, lines 37-38) says that the grandson of Āri Indrāditya (i. e. Læthai) was called Dharmarāja;

(2) This is supported by the evidence of a similar statement from the *Jinakālamālinī*—an independent source;

(3) Inscription III mentions the successor of Rāma Kamhæng as Dharmikarāja, and that Dharmarāja had a Footprint of the Buddha made and set up on Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai. The epithets are identical.

(4) Inscriptions III and VIII record the pilgrimage of King Lithai in 1359 to Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai where a Footprint had been made and set up by his own father (i. e. Læthai).

I also venture to suggest that in the light of the above data, King Læthai is naturally the first Dharmarāja while his son Lithai becomes Dharmarāja II and his successors hitherto, known as the second, third, and fourth of the name would become third, fourth and fifth respectively. This change of order will be followed in my paper on Thai Ceramics.



Besides the above there are parallels between Inscription II and XI which are highly suggestive. Inscription II mentions a prince bearing the royal title of Phra Rāma. He was the son of a certain Phya Kamhæng, the son of Khun Pha Muang. He was also called in this Inscription by a name which he later acquired in holy orders, namely

"Somdech Cau Chisradhārājacūlāmanī, the jewel of the Island of Laukā". This prince's pious actions resemble in a most striking manner the pious actions of some one in Inscription XI whose name cannot be found. The latter Inscription was set up by the benefactor who built the *chedi* of Rāma and the *vihara* of Rāma at the "monastery of Rāma on Mount Sumanakūṭa", which monastery scholars have identified with the one on Khao Kob at Nakhon Sawan.

Among the parallels worthy of notice are:—

Inscription II

Prince Rāma, in his devotion to Religion:—

- (a) *decked two daughters with rings, and bangles and gave (them?) to those who sought them".*

(แต่งงัดลูกสาวสองคนใส่ทอง
ปดายแขนแหวนย โขย
ทานไห้แก่ทานผู้มาข)

face 2 lines 2-3

- (b) *(at the monasteries he built, arranged men to wash the feet of the high monks etc. (as they enter the buildings)*

(...แต่งไห้ ลางคันทพระ
มหาเถรานุเถร)

face 2 line 13-14

- (c) *went to Ceylon, where miracles happened in connection with the 'great precious relic' of the Buddha, (face 2 lines 49 to end) and the relic was brought back (face 2 line 42)*

Inscription XI

Some one:—

- (a) *. two daughters who were decked*

(. สาวสองคน
งอันแต่ง)

face 2 lines 5-6

- (b) *(In building holy places he) arranged for good men to bring water to wash the feet of the holy brothers*

(ไว้คนผู้ตั้งคตกหน้าลางคันทผู้
สง (ข))

face 2 line 12

- (c) *went to India and Ceylon (face 2 lines 15-16), found the great relic (line 17), (? after) ten years crossed over to Tanasri (Siamese port now in Lower Burma) (line 19), and sought the presence of the King at Ayudhya (line 21).*

Now Inscription XI mentions that Phya Mahā Dhar (-marājā?) came to clear the forest, level rocks and stones, set up the Footprint and built a monastery and many other things in order to "dedicate the merits accrued therefrom to his younger brother Phya Phra Rāma."

Moreover, as this was dedicated to Phya Phra Rāma, it is quite likely that his exploits would be recorded on the back of the Inscription. Unfortunately the top lines of the back have been obliterated and we are left to guess whom it is all about. From the similarity of the deeds recorded in the two inscriptions, one is naturally tempted to suspect whether the Prince Rāma of the second inscription might not after all be identical with the unknown person of the eleventh.

I am also inclined to suspect that the "Phya Mahā Dharmarājā" of Inscr. XI who set up the Footprint might have been King Læthai himself; and that the "Phya Kamhæng" of the second inscription who was "father to Prince Rāma" might well have been King Rāma Kamhæng too. As for Pha Muang "the father of Phya Kamhæng" (Inscr. II), perhaps he was a father-in-law. Colloquial Siamese even nowadays, makes no fine distinction between a father and a father-in-law, it is quite common to hear him being called *phā* simply.

And the result of this would be that the author of Inscription XI was none other than Læthai himself.

PHYA NAKHON PHRA RAM.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS IN B. E. 2474 (1931-1932 A. D.).

Statistics of Siamese publications sent to the Royal Institute (in compliance with the Press Act) and reviews of some of them have been published in the number of this Journal for July 1932 (Vol. XXV pt. 2, p. 216, sqq.).

The number of books received during B. E. 2474 shows an increase over that of the previous year and is distributed, according to the date of receipt and subject matter, as follows:—

April to June	...	...	151 books in	194 volumes
July to September	...	...	435 " "	1,176 "
October to December	...	...	281 " "	418 "
January to March	...	...	311 " "	574 "
<hr/>				
Pali Texts	...	...	18 books in	67 volumes
Religion	...	...	422 " "	700 "
Law	...	...	50 " "	57 "
History	...	...	67 " "	105 "
Journals, essays etc.	...	...	109 " "	221 "
School books	...	...	102 " "	169 "
Poetry and drama	...	...	172 " "	652 "
Fiction	...	...	118 " "	184 "
Miscellaneous	...	...	120 " "	137 "

Thus the total for the year is 1178 books in 2362 volumes. But the books that are out of the rut are comparatively few and the present writer, at any rate, has found only eight books of this kind viz.

- (1) "Nangsū Jon Jāt Thai," a translation of Dodd's "Thai Race", by Princess Mondārob Kamalāsana, pp. 277. Printed for distribution at the cremation of Nai Siu Hun Bamrungjib B.E. 2474. Setting aside the question of any inaccuracy that may exist in the English book the translation is important in that it makes the contents of Dodd's book accessible to some extent to Siamese readers.
- (2) "Songrām laa Śāntibhāb," a translation of Tolstoy's "War and Peace" from the Russian, by Major Luang Yot Avudh, 2551 pp., in 4 vols. Price: Vol. 1, Tes. 4; Vol. 3 and 4, Tes. 3 each. The book is not a full translation, but has been popular with Siamese readers.
- (3) "Bocanānukrom Kot 'māy" a dictionary of Siamese legal terms, ancient and modern, by Khun Samahar Hitagati.
- (4) "Mo Khvām" ("The Lawyer"), a treatise on legal procedure, pp. 285. Printed for distribution during the funeral of Madame Lamun Indramontri, December 2474.
- (5) "Vijjā Fai Fā," a text book on electricity and its application, by Luang Nabanād Vijjāgun B.Sc., and Nai Samran Phao Bundharm, pp. 765.
- (6) "Lak laa vidhi Kep Rakshā Āhār" on preserving and canning food, by 'Mom Sri Brohmā Kṛḍākor, pp. 129, Price Te. 1.
- (7) "Kāmanita," adapted from Karl Gjellerup's "The Pilgrim Kamanita" by "Sathien Kōśés" and Nāgapradīp" B.E. 2473. 206 pp.
- (8) "Rūang Thio Pradeś Tavan Ok" ("Travels through Eastern Countries" by Princess Sip Phan, pp. 263. Printed for distribution at the cremation of 'Mom Chao Davidbhābhisek Sopakul, B. E. 2473 (N. B. Recently a new edition of this book has been brought out for sale, price Tes. 1.25 per copy).

A brief and just review contributed by a well known scholar is given below:—

"The authoress, having undertaken a journey through Malaya, Hongkong, Manila, China, Japan, Cochin China and Cambodia in 1926, has elaborated her notes of travel with historical data and her own observations. As she already points out in the preface to the 3rd. edition, the aim of the book is to talk of her travels chiefly

to fellow women of Siam. It is therefore evident that for readers abroad the interest would lie mainly from a psychological point of view. It has been said by a critic that bearing in mind that she was brought up in the household of the late Queen Saovabha, receiving education at the same time at the Rajini school for girls, one would therefore be led to expect a product of modern education with a background of Siamese traditions. The book in fact reverberates the above tones with a modest and observant way of looking at things in general. Her treatment of China and Japan are especially noteworthy. China is regarded by the Siamese, as a close relative—the traditional “elder brother”—of Siam, the former fountain of culture and refinement, which has of late been engaged—most decidedly without success—in a political experiment. The authoress, writing before the Siamese revolution, moralises upon the political example. The same moralisation with a different conclusion will be found in the case of Japan. The latter, always a little understood comrade of Siam, is here considerably vindicated for her reserved character, and given her due place in the realm of arts, culture and above all duly appreciated for her national stability. Considerable space is devoted to Angkor, the Athens of the Siamese.”

MEMBERSHIP.

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July 17th.—Dr. R. L. Pendleton, Luang Medhi,

Messrs. M. R. B. Bowes, J. W. G. Sparrow.

August 21st.—Messrs. H. G. Minnegerode and H. L. Norris.

October 2nd.—Mr. F. R. Dolbeare, and The Taihoku University Library.

November 1st.—Phya Pananuchorn, Luang Saman Wanakit,

Dr. H. Gerlach and Mr. J. Richard.

December 4th.—Luang Siribaed.

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The death of the following members is recorded with regret :—

Sir George Scott (Hon. member); H. H. Prince Prisdang;

H. E. Dr. E. Nord; and Phra Aran Raksa.

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